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## The Week

ON the eve of the Republican convention Hiram Johnson tells a North Carolina audience he is "now engaged in a family quarrel, wholly a family quarrel; and when the selection [of a candidate] is made at Chicago, the quarrel will be ended." Of all pre-convention prophecies that one has lost substance, and Hiram Johnson probably knows it. Controversy over campaign expenditures has torn wide gaps in Republican unanimity; difference of opinion in domestic issues will intensify the always latent division between progressives and stand-patters. A negative candidate may be able to straddle both factions of the Republican party. How much effective loyalty will he be able to command on either side?

ONE thing the country may expect of a powerful wing of the Republican party, with the right sort of President in power, is disclosed in the amazing recommendations which come from Senator Fall's sub-committee for a policy towards Mexico. What

Senator Fall proposes—with Senator Brandegee and Senator Smith (Arizona) concurring is nothing but imperialism, greedy and unmasked. We are, these Senators propose, to go into the business of writing other nations' constitutions. Unless the new Mexican government revises Article 27 in such a fashion as to satisfy American oil and mining interests, we are to withhold our recognition. But that is only a beginning. We shall then promptly "send a police force consisting of the naval and military force of our government into the Republic of Mexico to open and maintain open every line of communication between the City of Mexico and every seaport and border port in Mexico." Hands up; your money or your life; this is nothing but plain imperialism. Let Senators like Mr. Brandegee and Mr. McCormick and Mr. Borah, who have been assailing British imperialism in Persia and Japanese imperialism in China, meet the test now or forever hold their peace.

THOSE who wonder what Mr. Wilson would like to see in the Democratic platform this year are referred by him to the program adopted in Virginia. The President finds "the sentiments expressed in this notable document" fully in accord with his own views, "especially the statements which set forth the attitude of the party on the League of Nations and the pressing problems of peace, finance and reconstruction." The Virginia program, of course, wants "prompt ratification of the treaty without reservations which would impair its essential integrity"; and there is a comforting clause for the President, congratulating him upon "the exceptional achievement at Paris . . . in the adoption of a League and Treaty so near akin to American ideals." The financial and reconstruction planks of which the President approves are somewhat meagre. The Virginia platform demands a vague tax revision, to the end that taxation may no longer "throttle our economic life." Generosity to war veterans, a privately owned merchant marine, and a pious hope for no more strikes



—without suggesting how to reach this goal—that is what the Virginia platform envisages as the road to “reconstruction.”

CHINA still holds out against the Treaty for which the Democrats in Virginia ask prompt recognition “without reservations which would impair its essential integrity.” The latest Chinese note to Japan, dated Sunday of last week, is a flat refusal to negotiate a Shantung bargain. China still asserts, despite the edict of a treaty “so near akin to American ideals,” that it is not her intention to abandon any rights in Shantung. According to a dispatch from Paris to the Sun and New York Herald, a renewal of the Anglo-Japanese alliance is now being negotiated. Will this alliance be made public by the League of Nations? And will it, like the League and Treaty, confirm Japan in her possession of soil which is indisputably Chinese?

A new factor has apparently been injected into the military situation in Eastern Europe, where Soviet troops are stemming a Polish advance near Kiev. This factor is a revolt of the Ukrainians. All along, the Polish government has announced that one purpose of its “defensive” drive eastward was the liberation of Ukraina. It now appears that more than half of the Ukrainian regiments fighting with the Poles near Kiev have revolted. “Not only did the Ukrainians under Petlura revolt,” states the President of the Ukrainian National Committee, “but there has been a bitter struggle in which the Poles annihilated an entire Ukrainian regiment . . . Two Lemberg newspapers published accounts of the affair—the Polish paper *Slovo Polskie* and the Ukrainian paper *Zpered*. For publishing the account these two papers have been suppressed by Pilsudski [Polish Premier], who later denied that the Ukrainian troops had revolted.”

THAT the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate should reject the proposal for an Armenian mandate surprises no one. A majority of the Senate has been opposed to such a mandate from the time it first was mentioned. What is now proposed by Mr. Hitchcock, as a substitute for the mandate, is a project of financial aid. A joint commission of Americans and Armenians would be authorized to supervise the sale in this country of \$50,000,000 in Armenian bonds. Could such bonds be sold? Not easily, as a business venture, unless to Armenia are restored the fertile lands and mineral fields which can make that state a solvent nation. As the American Committee for Armenian Independence

points out, President Wilson’s message to Congress states he “will arbitrate the question of the boundaries between Turkey and Armenia in the vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis; this means that Armenia is to be despoiled of her most fertile province of Harpoot, Diarbekr, Sivas and Cilicia.”

TWELVE prominent lawyers sign the most formidable protest which has yet been made against Attorney-General Palmer’s conduct in office. The signers include, among others, the Dean and two professors of the Harvard Law School, the Dean of the Washington University Law School, professors in the Law Schools of Maryland University and the University of Chicago, and the former Federal District Attorney in Philadelphia. These twelve men declare: “We make no argument in favor of any radical doctrine, as such, whether Socialist, Communist or Anarchist. No one of us belongs to any of these schools of thought. Nor do we now raise any question as to the Constitutional protection of free speech and a free press. We are concerned solely with bringing to the attention of the American people the utterly illegal acts which have been committed by those charged with the highest duty of enforcing the laws—acts which have caused widespread suffering and unrest, have struck at the foundation of American free institutions, and have brought the name of our country into disrepute.”

THE acts thus characterized are grouped under six heads by the lawyers who sign this statement: (1) “Punishments of the utmost cruelty, and heretofore unthinkable in America, have become usual. Great numbers of persons arrested, both aliens and citizens, have been threatened, beaten with black-jacks, struck with fists, jailed under abominable conditions, or actually tortured.” (2) Despite the fourth amendment to the Constitution, “many hundreds of citizens and aliens alike have been arrested in wholesale raids, without warrants or pretense of warrants.” (3) “In countless cases agents of the Department of Justice have entered the homes, offices or gathering places of persons suspected of radical affiliations, and without pretense of any warrant, have seized and removed property belonging to them for use by the Department.” (4) “‘Agents provocateurs,’ such as have been familiar in old Russia or Spain . . . have been introduced into the radical movements.” (5) “It has been the practice of the Department . . . to question the accused person and to force admission from him by terrorism.” (6) The Attorney-General has gone into the field of propaganda, circulated press mat-



ter "patently designed to affect public opinion in advance of court decision and prepared in the manner of an advertising campaign in favor of repression."

IN support of these charges various Exhibits are furnished. "These Exhibits," say the lawyers signing the report, "are, to the best of our knowledge and belief—based upon careful investigation—truthful both in substance and detail. Drawn mainly from the four centers of New York City, Boston, Mass., and Hartford, Conn., we know them to be typical of conditions which have prevailed in many parts of the country. Since these illegal acts have been committed by the highest legal powers in the United States, there is no final appeal from them except to the conscience and condemnation of the American people. American institutions have not in fact been protected by the Attorney-General's ruthless suppression. On the contrary these institutions have been seriously undermined, and revolutionary unrest has been vastly intensified. No organizations of radicals acting through propaganda over the last six months could have created as much revolutionary sentiment in America as has been created by the acts of the Department of Justice itself."

IN their long advertised debate at Carnegie Hall Mr. Gompers and Governor Allen resembled parallel lines projected into space. However far they went, they got no nearer meeting. Each had his own project to develop. Governor Allen, setting out to validate the theory of an industrial court, branded the struggle between capital and labor as "civil war." "It is the only private conflict in the world," he said, "which government has not recognized and taken on the responsibility for—the only one. We have stamped out every other one, from duelling to fist fighting." One step more, and the millennium. But no millennium for Mr. Gompers. He, meantime, was characterizing as a thing "divine" the very practice which Governor Allen linked with fist-fighting. Launched from premises so far distant, the discussion at Carnegie Hall was not so much a debate as an exposition of what Mr. Gompers thought of things and what Mr. Allen thought of them. They put their own views on record. But as a matter of fact they came nowhere near exhausting their subject.

THOUGH there was no chance of their meeting on common ground, so long as they remained faithful to their respective premises, Governor Allen and Mr. Gompers occasionally cut athwart each other's paths—Governor Allen on these occasions

inflicting the greater damage. He asked Mr. Gompers two questions which the latter first parried, then promised to answer, and finally ignored. If "the right to strike" is "divine," Governor Allen wanted to know, why did organized labor fight the rebel switchmen's strike? Mr. Gompers had no answer ready. A reply would have led him to qualify the divinity of the right to strike, at least to the point of distinguishing between "rebel strikes" and "regular strikes"; and such a qualification raises other obvious questions that need answering. In the second place, Governor Allen wanted to know whether the public has any rights in a strike affecting the production or distribution of necessities, and, if so, how Mr. Gompers would protect those rights. This point always finds Mr. Gompers on the defensive. Yet it is a point of which more and more will be made in future. Mr. Gompers, we believe, loses ground by not holding a more positive position. Is he convinced such a position cannot be found?

A year and a half after the armistice is signed President Wilson frees one political prisoner from serving the sentence imposed by the federal courts. It was the irony of Mrs. O'Hare's case that she did not go to prison until three months after the war had ended. It may have been unsafe for the country to have Mrs. O'Hare saying in war-time what many people are saying now; she was not put in prison until war had ended. What should have been at most a precaution incidental to war became, in her case, a punishment in time of peace. That is what it remains, for those other men and women who are still in prison on account of a political offense.

ON the basis of a Department of Justice investigation the Federal Grand Jury in New York City has returned an indictment for profiteering against the American Woolen Company. The Department's investigation disclosed that the Company's profits were \$15,513,414—despite a strike that tied up some of the mills for five months. As a sample in profiteering the Department points out that profit on one article known as tricotine was 49 cents a yard in 1919—and \$1.60 a yard in 1920. In defense of high prices American manufacturers have cited the cost of raw materials, the burden of increased taxes, and the profiteering of labor. Here are *net* profits alleged by the government to be from three to four times greater than those of 1919—earned by a company fighting, as avowed revolutionaries, against its workmen who went on strike a year ago in an effort to win better wages.



## The State of the Union

THE groups of party politicians who will gather during the present month in Chicago and San Francisco will as usual devote their attention to the selection of candidates, the formulation of platforms, the criticism of the record of their opponents, the complete approval of their own behavior and the glorification of American institutions. These are the ordinary performances of party conventions, and the most convinced non-partisan may admit the necessity of the machinery and need not attach too much importance to the hot air, the odors and the din which the machinery gives off during its operations. Yet if the politicians who are now preparing to confer appreciated what a small amount of confidence they inspire in their fellow countrymen and what they could do to satisfy the strong but inarticulate needs and feelings of American public opinion, they would in June, 1920, add another act to the plays which they stage in their convention halls. In addition to faithfully performing the routine of their regular tasks they would, before they adjourned, devote one day to a frank talk in public among themselves as to the state of the Union. They would forget for the moment that they were Republicans or Democrats, conservatives or progressives, the supporters of a victorious or of a defeated candidate. They would remember only that they were American citizens assembled in public conference to perform an indispensable governmental function at a moment when American government was working badly. They would ask one leader after the other to tell under oath candidly and copiously what he really thought about the condition of the country, what misgivings he had, what he anticipated and hoped and what, if he had the power, he would propose to do about it.

Such conferences on the state of the Union would, we believe, awaken an echo of relief and approval in the American public. It craves for some evidence on the part of the political leaders of candid self-distrust. Popular opinion in all classes and of all varieties is vaguely but seriously troubled. It feels the unreality in the present tense and dubious situation of the customary platitudes about the past achievements of the Republicans and Democrats, about their promises for the future, about the glorious traditions of the country and about the salutary nature of its existing institutions. It has a foreboding of the imminence of great changes in its domestic life and it realizes the want of moral and intellectual preparation for them. No matter how complacently their spokesmen talk, no class, or party or group is really satisfied with the existing conditions or happy about the prospects. The

most conservative are alive to the inefficiency of government and the prevalence of social unrest and the insecurity of private property in an unstable democracy. Their fears prompt them to connive at or to support revolutionary changes in American institutions such as anti-Socialist legislation at Albany and the unconstitutional violence of the Federal Department of Justice. Radicals who are not blinded by their own agitation must be no less apprehensive about their own ability to live up to the opportunities of power which the grievances and the discontent of the American people during the next ten years may fasten upon them. Alert minds which are neither conservative nor radical frequently and properly become the victims of a still graver disquietude. They crave or they need without craving light upon the causes of governmental inefficiency and social unrest, and they crave leadership based, not upon a denial of the existence of serious difficulties, but upon a recognition and analysis of what they are. They know enough to realize how fundamental and unmanageable are many of the present economic and social problems and how complex and how headstrong are the social impulses which are driving these problems to the front, and yet how rigid and superannuated is much of the political machinery which furnishes the obvious orderly method of handling them. They would welcome above everything else some admission by the party politicians of the insufficiency of the old formulæ, some confession of the gravity of the situation, some candor in discussing it and some initiative and courage in preparing to deal with it.

The war and its aftermath has rendered this malady of American public opinion peculiarly active and painful, but it has its background and roots in the political experiences of the generation and a half which preceded the war. Ever since the "liberal Republican" movement of 1870 many of the more spirited and disinterested minds in America have occupied themselves with one kind or another of reforming agitation. Recall in this connection the extent to which the political and social history of the last fifty years consists of the repeated efforts put forth by reformers or progressives to correct economic, social and political abuses. Remark at the end of the period the pitifully meagre result of this immense expenditure of protest, argument and agitation. All that progressivism has accomplished is to do away with a few of the grossest examples of political and economic privilege and corruption. It has impaired the vitality of the spoils system, checked the growth of large corporations, done away with rebates, placed the railroads under control, lowered some of the worst of the tariff schedules, dethroned most of the political bosses and diminished the corruption in mu-



nicipal politics. But in practically all these cases the reformers have mitigated rather than eradicated the abuses, and they have proved themselves either incapable of bringing about constructive reorganization or powerless to do so. The spoils system persists for bureau chiefs and the classified public servants have many of the faults and few of the virtues of a competent bureaucracy. The railroads are reduced to the status of chastened wards of the Interstate Commerce Commission, but they all are as far as ever from being organized into an efficient and satisfactory national transportation service. The progressive program of 1912, which was to make public officials directly responsible to the people, is either abandoned or as in the case of the direct primaries, is wholly unsatisfactory in its operation. So it goes. The party machines still dominate the politics of the country and in one way or another manage to smother progressive ideas and prevent them from being realized. Big business still dominates the economic policy of the country. It no longer buys state legislatures. It is far less inclined than formerly to violate the law. But its interests are still confused with the public interest and business men, assisted by their political, legal and journalistic satellites, still claim to be the ruling class.

What is the cause of the futility on the part of American progressive movements? Is it because the evils and abuses which the reformers tried to remedy were imaginary? There are few intelligent Americans who would answer the question in the affirmative. Is it because the constructive economic and political ability of the country was occupied with business rather than with politics? There is much to be said for this explanation, but if true, it will not soothe the apprehensions of those who believe in the reality of the past and present evils and in the necessary acuteness of the resulting unrest. Is it because America is no longer capable of applying courage and brains to the service of political and economic problems? Most Americans will reject this explanation until after every other possible explanation has proved to be false. Is it because the progressive political and economic programs of the past were framed in ignorance and need thorough revision before they can have any chance of eradicating abuses and soothing unrest? There is probably a good deal of truth in this explanation, but anybody who admits its truth places himself under bonds to suggest a new program, based upon a sounder analysis of the causes of the evil and of the meaning and promise of the American democracy.

It is a necessity of a new program based upon a sounder analysis of the causes of political abuses and of social instability and of the meaning and

promise of the American democracy which leads the active part of public opinion to crave a candid public conference on the state of the Union. Public opinion itself is blind, disorganized, distrustful of itself, and anxious for light and leading. Not only has the distinction between Democrat and Republican become ambiguous, but also the distinction between liberal and conservative or reactionary and radical. American progressivism does not know its own mind. It does not know how far it believes in direct or in representative government, whether it prefers centralization to decentralization, the extent to which it accepts compulsory arbitration of labor disputes, or what the attitude of progressives should be towards the high cost of living and a League of Nations. The formulation which the progressive program received in 1912 no longer possesses any authority in liberal opinion. If the government of the country were turned over to a group of "liberals" they would differ among themselves as sharply as they do from the conservatives. But it is comforting to add the same statement would be almost equally true both of the conservatives on the one hand and of the socialists on the other. If any American conservative is capable of drawing up an explicit program which would command effective support from the great body of his fellow conservatives, he certainly has not yet succeeded in doing it. As to socialism it is divided as usual into mutually incompatible factions. Wherever it has assumed power in Europe, it has found political responsibility an embarrassment rather than a challenge to action.

The gravest cause for disquietude does not consist merely in the existence of dangerous forbidding and critical political and social problems. Such problems are common to all modern nations and the American people have in the past faced, and surmounted equally difficult and perilous causes of dissension. Neither does it consist merely in a disorganized public opinion, for public opinion can usually in the course of time cure its own most serious defects. It consists rather in the coexistence of a disorganized and distrustful public opinion with the existence of dangerous, imminent and extremely difficult social and industrial problems. The next President and Congress of the United States cannot avoid action in reference to many far-reaching and critical questions of domestic and foreign policy upon which they will not have explicit instructions from public opinion and which will never have been submitted to the American people for exhaustive discussion and responsible decision. In dealing with them they are likely, consequently, to behave in much the same way that Congress behaved last winter in dealing with the railroads. They are likely to act without courage



and conviction and on the basis of insufficient information, false analysis and considerations of immediate expediency. They are certain in that event to fail as Congress has failed in its railroad legislation. The only way in which they can prepare themselves morally and intellectually for the kind of problems which lie immediately ahead would be to start now a much more drastic and thoroughgoing educational debate about the nature of those problems than any public debate in which they have engaged since before the Civil War.

There is little prospect of such discussion. The pre-convention campaign has not involved any ventilation of issues and has not brought with it any definition of them. The political leaders of both parties will in the interest of party harmony have every inducement to prevent the post-convention campaign also from developing genuine conflicts of opinion. Definite issues and strong convictions are under existing conditions sources of division rather than of union. Politicians are likely, consequently, to emphasize at any cost party performances and possibilities. But by so doing the existing party machines will increase the distrust with which they are regarded by every American with vital convictions. The spectacle will confirm their impression that party organizations have in effect become conspiracies to cheapen American political discussions, to check the movement of political and economic thought and to thwart the constructive application of intelligence to politics. The conventions will not transfigure themselves into the kind of forums for the ventilation of grievances and the revelation of popular fears, scruples, hopes and aspirations which a democracy needs during transitional and critical periods, because such candid revelations and discussions are injurious to the discipline of parties without common convictions. The American people will remember this failure when at a later period they are again involved by their government in a course of behavior for which nothing was done to prepare public opinion.

## Presidential Bank Accounts

“DON’T mind me, if I seem grumpy,” General Wood’s western treasurer told a reporter of the *New York World*. “The reason is, I am mad. This whole thing is the most damnably outrageous affair I ever heard of.”

In the Senate’s investigation into campaign expenditures many of Leonard Wood’s supporters saw a plot. To them the investigation seemed a last-minute effort to injure Wood’s chances. They observe that it was Borah, an avowed enemy of the

Wood candidacy, who got the Senate launched upon its inquiry; and they observe that Senator Kenyon’s committee spent as much time on Leonard Wood alone as it gave to all thirteen of his competitors in both parties. This latter fact, however, has an explanation obvious enough. The admitted expenditures of Leonard Wood amount to as much as the admitted expenditures of all thirteen competitors combined. On a basis of dollars the committee was right in spending half its time investigating a single candidacy.

The minor candidates, and those who have been making a noiseless campaign, did not hold the attention of the investigating committee long nor startle the public with the size of their expenditures. With the exception of McAdoo, whose campaign budget is a thing still undiscovered at the time we go to press, the candidates with the smallest pre-convention expenditures are Cox, Edwards, Sutherland and Gerard. No one of these four aspirants spent as much as \$25,000. Cox contested only his own state, where he had an easy time, and the neighboring state of Kentucky. Edwards rode along on what resentment there was against federal prohibition. Sutherland spent practically nothing until, as his manager said, “General Wood came into West Virginia like a circus.” “His workers had bands, theatres, special street cars, posters and buttons. They pinned buttons on man, woman and child. And when there was no one to pin them on, they just threw them away.” As for Mr. Gerard, he too, in his one brief test of public opinion, learned what it costs to be a competitor of Leonard Wood. Explaining an expenditure of \$14,000, Gerard’s manager said: “We sowed seeds of literature in South Dakota and left it to the sunshine and rain. We found it took something more than sunshine and rain to make it grow.” And Gerard entered no more primaries.

None of the other candidates kept their expenditures under \$25,000—even those who, like Poindexter and Nicholas Murray Butler, have no better chance for a nomination than Gerard and Sutherland, and certainly not so good a chance as Cox. Butler’s campaign cost \$34,000; Poindexter’s, \$59,000. Governor Coolidge’s managers spent \$68,000; Hoover’s, \$66,000—though this figure does not include the cost of the campaign in California, and that was the one state which Hoover’s managers contested. The Harding campaign cost \$107,000; and Hiram Johnson, regarded in the office of the *New York Times* and the *G. H. Q.* of General Wood as candidate of the Reds, seems nevertheless to have had enough wealthy friends in stock to subscribe \$200,000 in his behalf.

There would be more lively interest in an analy-



sis of the way these substantial sums were spent, if it were not for the greater interest centered in the huge expenditures of Wood and Lowden. Up to the middle of last week Governor Lowden's campaign had cost \$415,000, of which the Governor personally had contributed \$379,000. It is an enormous figure. Newspaper reporters, searching for descriptive terms, have talked of a return to Hannaism. Lowden's \$415,000 is not a return to Hannaism. It goes far past Hannaism. It is more than three times what Mark Hanna spent to get William McKinley nominated.

How was this vast sum expended? Lowden's manager was not always clear. In the case of Missouri, Senator Reed's questions brought out the fact that no advertising had been used and that there was no campaign of speechmaking. Yet \$38,000 was expended. "I wonder what you did with that \$38,000," said Senator Reed. "It was used to stir up interest in Governor Lowden's candidacy in the various counties, I suppose," replied the Governor's campaign manager. That is an inadequate explanation, to say the least. How was \$38,000 spent in Missouri, to "stir up" interest in Lowden, if none of the ordinary expenditures for campaign advertising were involved? Lowden's manager did not have an answer ready—though he declared "We have kept an account of every cent that has been received and every cent spent."

Leaving the witness stand and returning to Chicago, the Governor's manager addressed a message to the Senate Committee. "Go the limit," he urged; permit no candidate to "take advantage of any technical subterfuge" to hide the actual sums disbursed in any state. And despite any vagueness in his own statement, this was a request Lowden's manager had earned the right to ask. Without hesitancy he had put on the table what cards he held. And for the amazing expenditures he disclosed, Lowden himself had assumed full responsibility.

What of Leonard Wood?

Mr. Frank Hitchcock, first Wood manager to take the stand, was patently anxious to shirk all the responsibility he could possibly avoid. He did not have any knowledge of specific contributions. He did not know anything about campaigns in the West. He knew that in New York there was a finance committee of eighty to raise Wood funds. He knew there was also a Wood League. But when asked who was at the head of this second fund-raising body he replied, "I just can't recall the gentleman's name, although it has been mentioned to me several times. My activities have all been in different places." He did not know the number of persons employed in the New York and Chicago offices; did not go near these headquar-

ters; and has nothing to do with subordinates or anyone associated with the campaign below the rank of assistant manager. He was, in other words, a campaign manager completely free of managerial responsibility.

Colonel William Cooper Procter, the second Wood manager called to the stand, told the Senate committee that he had personally advanced more than half a million dollars for the Wood bank account and that he had no high hope of its ever being paid back to him. Beyond this Colonel Procter's testimony rivalled Mr. Hitchcock's in its want of any definiteness. "The state organizations," he said, "had been encouraged to raise and handle their own funds." But there was no telling how much they had raised and handled. About that, no one had informed him. Senator Reed raised the question of individual subscriptions. "I do not know definitely about subscriptions," Colonel Procter replied. "The trouble is, men do not like to have their names mentioned in a connection of the kind." In response to further questioning, however, he volunteered: "Well, there's a fellow named Wrigley." But when asked how much Wrigley had contributed, Colonel Procter replied: "Now, I don't know. I've personally done no soliciting, I'm perfectly willing to give this, though it's a little embarrassing, when you will have the full report." Colonel Procter, like Mr. Hitchcock, was ready to accept no unnecessary responsibility. "My place," he said, "was to keep the organization working harmoniously."

The minor managers of the Wood campaign who followed Colonel Procter on the stand were sometimes correspondingly indefinite in their fields of local action. Thus Major Edwin Morgan, treasurer in Ohio, declared that Chicago headquarters had sent \$25,000 to Ohio and that not a cent had been raised by the state organization as such. It developed, however, that in Ohio the largest vote in the primaries was cast in the counties containing Cleveland, Cincinnati and Columbus. And here, Major Morgan testified, the Wood campaign was financed locally. How much was contributed in that way, he did not know. The Senate Committee got little definite information concerning General Wood's finances until Hitchcock, Procter and the local managers had left the stand, and Mr. A. A. Sprague had supplanted them. Mr. Sprague spoke in the capacity of western treasurer, and (in the absence of Mr. Stebbins, fishing in Canada) of eastern treasurer, too.

Mr. Sprague testified that more than a million dollars had been raised for the Wood campaign. Of this staggering sum Colonel Procter had borne the major burden. For in addition to \$10,000



given to the fund, he had made advances of \$521,000 and had indorsed two notes upon Chicago banks totalling \$200,000. Other contributors included Mr. Rockefeller, Jr., \$25,000; Ambrose Monell, New York, \$20,000; a Mr. Smathers, New York, \$20,000; H. M. Billesby, Chicago, \$15,000; William Wrigley, Jr., Chicago, \$10,000; and C. D. Shaffer, Chicago, \$10,000. From William Loeb, Jr., New York, Mr. Sprague said he had received a total of \$225,000. But who contributed to this fund, and in what amounts, he did not know.

In the history of political campaigns in America there is nothing more shocking than the note upon which the Senate's investigation of Wood's finances ended. Here were expenditures of more than a million dollars, expenditures nearly ten times as great as the sum Hanna spent to nominate McKinley, expenditures in behalf of a candidate supporting in theory the principle of responsible government. What responsibility did this candidate accept for the management of his own campaign?

Mr. Sprague testified that money was paid out from headquarters "on order from Colonel Procter of W. B. Burtt."

"Did General Wood know anything about this?" asked Senator Reed.

"He did not."

"Did he know Colonel Procter had advanced over \$500,000?"

"I don't think he knew anything about it."

"Did he ever ask you about the financing of the campaign?" asked Senator Pomerene.

"He never did."

"And you never told him?"

"I did not, though he has probably read the papers by this time."

There you have the essential quality of the Wood campaign: a candidate touring the country in the interests of strong government, advertising the executive who knows how to surround himself with able men and to hold them responsible; and yet, in his own campaign, completely ignorant of the activities of the group of wealthy men supporting him, imposing no responsibility whatever upon their methods of raising and expending the greatest pre-convention fund in the history of American politics. "I have no personal cognizance of the financial details of my campaign," declared General Wood, when his managers had finished testifying. "I left all of that to Colonel Procter. I have confidence in him, as has everybody who knows him."

However unnecessary the Wood managers found a Congressional investigation of campaign funds, there can be no doubt about its use to the public.

We have an approximate idea, now, of the expenditures of the different candidates, and of the responsibility which each candidate is ready to assume for those expenditures. The evil of the vast pre-convention expenditure is not necessarily that funds are spent corruptly, but that in such amounts they are spent at all. A Congressional investigation on the eve of the conventions is not a plot against one candidate or another, but a necessary protection for the public. Such an investigation should be made a standing practice in American politics, coupled with a penalty for failure on the part of any individual to file with some public official a statement of his contribution. Only with the aid of some such practice can we feel certain of protection against that danger which the present campaign has shown to be so startlingly real: the danger that the Presidency of the United States will go to him who spends most money.

## Politics and the H. C. of L.

THERE exists in this country at present a strange and significant anomaly with respect to the working of its democratic institutions. A democratic state is supposed to provide for its citizens a serviceable political machinery for the discussion and the definition of pressing political and economic issues and for the reaching of some decision upon them. Yet the American political machinery instead of at present helping the American people to discuss, define and satisfactorily pass judgment on the issues in which they are most absorbingly interested, is hindering them from doing so. Any group of our fellow-country-men who happen to engage in serious conversation are certain to talk either about the labor question, prohibition or the high cost of living. Their interest in these questions amounts almost to an obsession and explains in part their indifference to what is happening in Mexico, in Europe or in what the Senate does to the Treaty.

Yet in spite of the fact that we are entering upon a Presidential campaign, there is practically no educational friction of opinion between the parties or among leaders within the parties about labor, prohibition, or the high cost of living. If candidates who are competing for the Republican or Democratic nomination refer to them, they do so for the purpose of making evasive, ambiguous or general statements with which the voter cannot sharply agree or disagree and from which he can learn little or nothing. The state platforms of both parties deal with these issues also for the purpose of avoiding or smothering them. The political leaders of the country, with one or two exceptions,



are afraid to assume any decisive controversial attitude about them. No wonder the American voters stayed away from the primaries. The candidates who solicited their votes had left them without leadership and without provocation to thought in respect to the most vital and imposing issues.

There is some excuse for the failure of the candidates and the platforms to deal with prohibition and labor, but there is no sufficient excuse for the evasion of the issue raised by the high cost of living. That is the kind of question with which politics in a democracy must deal or else confess to impotence. The change in the level of prices has modified the former standards of living of millions of families amounting in gross to the great majority of the American people. Some few have gained enough increased wages and profits more than to make up for the larger prices they have to pay for what they consume, but by far the larger number have suffered from the dislocation. Their dominant feeling at present is a grave apprehension about the future. They are afraid of any further increase in prices, because they do not see how they can afford to pay more for what they consume. But they are perhaps even more afraid of a fall in prices, because they realize that a fall in prices will imply a costly business depression accompanied by unemployment and an attempt to lower wages. It is a moment of profound and wide-spread uncertainty on the part of individuals, classes and nations with respect to their economic future, and this uncertainty is intensified by a sense of helplessness. The majority of Americans vaguely realize that their economic welfare is being determined by a group of conditions over which neither they themselves nor their business leaders nor their economic advisers, nor the chiefs of their government seem able or willing to exercise any effective control. They have usually considered themselves individually or collectively masters of their economic destiny. Instead of that they find themselves the victim of conditions which enrich men who do not by any public service deserve riches and impoverish men who do not by any slacking deserve poverty. Politicians and business men inform them that their salvation lies in producing and saving, but the atmosphere of speculation and uncertainty deprives them of any sufficient motive to produce and to save. They have no assurance that if they produce and save the economic organization which, as it is admitted, has escaped control will not take away the fruits of their labor and economy. Inasmuch as the people who offer this advice are usually more interested in profits than in production and are far from frugal in their own standards of consumption, it naturally does not impress a man to whom frugality means privation. What he wants

to know is whether the people who have profited from the high cost of living and who are supposed to direct the economic machine cannot do something, or, if necessary, have something done to them by the state, which will socialize its profits and burdens.

The demand for some action about the high cost of living on the part of the vast majority of Americans who are suffering from it either in their standards of living or in their sense of security is entirely reasonable and in some form or other it will force its way into politics. The salaried, the professional, the wage-earning and the small investment classes have a right to ask of a democratic state the discussion and the adoption of some policy which will safeguard their future and justify their confidence in the social effect of the economic system. It is absurd and futile to ask them to work harder and to economize unless the state protects them against the absorption of the results of their labor and their saving by the people who happen to own the product. Just because a large part of the American people are demanding and have a right to demand some such assurance, the issue raised by the high cost of living must and should get into politics. That is what politics is for. The Constitution itself is supposed to guarantee to laborers the enjoyment of the fruits of their labor. The only questions are, "How soon and by what route will it get into politics?" If responsible statesmen or the major parties will not propose serious and drastic plans for dealing with the high cost of living and profiteering, irresponsible politicians and protesting political parties will appropriate the issue and obtain the benefit of it. The Democratic and Republican parties and their candidates should beware. If they continue to shirk their responsibility for affording the wage-earning and lower middle classes the kind of protection against economic insecurity and deprivation which the American system has always been supposed to afford, they will soon find themselves fighting for their lives against an irreconcilable and savage economic and political protest. The issue raised by the high cost of living is one on which demagogues can thrive.

The candidates of the major parties have shirked the issue partly from unworthy and partly from worthy motives. The majority of Republican and Democratic politicians are afraid of it. They realize its complexities, its intrinsic difficulties, its treacherously combustible possibilities and their own impotence to deal with it. They are hoping, consequently, to smother it at least until after the election by declarations in favor of increased production and by vague denunciations of profiteering. There are a smaller number of more courageous and in-



telligent leaders who are afraid of it for different and better reasons. They realize still more clearly its enormous intrinsic difficulty and the impossibility of mitigating its effects save possibly by a national effort on behalf of a national purpose comparable to that which the American people put into the war with Germany. They feel a profound and justifiable distrust for the cheap and easy method of dealing with it which popular agitators propose; and they fear that, if the issue gets into politics, the impulse to adopt a cheap and easy but ineffective remedy will be irresistible. They are loath also to join in the denunciation of the profiteers and the profiteering. Profiteering, as they see it, is as much an effect as a cause of high prices. They know only too well how difficult it is to regulate profits either by administrative and legislative action or by criminal proceedings and what the consequence may be of tampering with the motive of acquisition, which underlies capitalist economy. For these reasons they reenforce the efforts of less scrupulous and intelligent men to submerge the issue below the surface of politics.

Unfortunately, the excellence of the motives of these men and the pertinence of many of their scruples will not mitigate the dangerous effects of their behavior. At a crisis in the economic history of the country, when the confidence of the people in the ability of their economic institutions to serve their vital needs is severely shaken and when a majority of them are or soon will be suffering from undeserved economic privations and insecurity—at this moment of crisis the wisest and ablest of their political and economic leaders and their responsible organs of government refuse to propose any remedy which looks in the direction of removing their grievance or of satisfying their reasonable demands. No leader belonging to either of the old parties is willing to tackle the high cost of living in the same courageous and positive spirit that Roosevelt tackled fifteen years ago the alliance between predatory business and machine politics. If the neglect of the issue continues, the American people will believe and will be justified in believing that their politics, as now organized, offers them no approach to a remedy for a chronic and mortal sickness of their system of producing and distributing economic goods. They will increasingly turn either to industrial action or else join new parties whose leaders have not the same reasons for dreading to raise questions about the foundations of the existing economy.

For the dread of tampering with the foundation of the existing economy underlies the desire of the best of American political leaders to keep the high cost of living out of politics. That economy must

stand or fall upon the assumption that enterprising individuals who possess or can borrow a certain amount of capital will, as a consequence of seeking the largest possible profits for themselves, produce at the lowest possible cost those goods which the community needs to satisfy its wants. Capitalism is supposed to harmonize the public and private interests involved by the production and distribution of economic goods. The agitation against profiteering questions this fundamental assumption. The word broke into popular use during the war when it was only too apparent that the nation could not obtain the volume of production which it needed for the success of its armies, unless the government controlled industry, limited profits and guaranteed standards to labor, initiated enterprise and accumulated capital. It is now equally apparent that under post-war no less than under war conditions the nation cannot satisfy its existing economic needs by trusting to private capitalism. Private enterprise is creating no sufficient accumulation of capital, no sufficient initiative in business, no sufficient willingness of labor, no sufficient sense of social security to bring about the indispensable volume and quality of economic production. The breakdown of private enterprise is just as complete as it was during the war and it is due to a profoundly similar cause. Modern society is becoming necessarily a great co-operative enterprise in which opportunities, profits and economic privileges must be shared rather than privately appropriated. An acquisitive competitive society, such as ours, which depends upon private profit for the motive of industry, is not organized for cooperation.

Any thorough-going method of dealing with the high cost of living demands a candid consideration of this criticism of our capitalist economy; and it is such a consideration of its fundamental assumptions which American political and business leaders instinctively shirk. Because they themselves are usually disinterested and public-spirited men, because the result of capitalist economics are supposed to be publicly advantageous they shrink from facing the fact that whatever their own subjective intentions, the underlying motives upon which the system depends are selfish and its ultimate results both individually and socially demoralizing. They are entangled at present in a tortuous labyrinth of self-deception. They are in the situation of a physician who fully recognizes the growth of the illness of a well-beloved patient and whose consternation over the seriousness of the crisis prevents him from tracing the disease to its source in the patient's own misbehavior and from insisting on sufficiently drastic remedies. Realizing as they do the superficiality of dealing with the high cost of living by a direct



attack on profiteering, and shirking as they must any method of tackling it which implies a repudiation by society of the motive of private acquisition as the possible source of a socialized economic system, they are bound to do what they can to keep the high cost of living out of politics. They are in effect wagering their own leadership and the stability of the existing capitalist economics upon some sudden change for the better in the patient. They should recognize they are in grave danger of losing their bet. They should realize that they can never make out of the sow's ear of private acquisitiveness the silk purse of a society whose activities are informed by the essentially religious purpose of enhancing human life.

## Another Case of Five to Four

**I**N May, 1917, the Supreme Court of the United States, by a majority of one, held that the attempt of the New York Workmen's Compensation law to impose upon an employer liability for the death of an employee upon a gang-plank between a vessel and a wharf contravened the Federal Constitution, although the State of New York unquestionably could have imposed such liability had the death occurred upon the wharf. The invalidity of such legislation was found in Article III of the Constitution, conferring exclusive jurisdiction of all admiralty cases upon the courts of the United States and withdrawing that field from the operation of state laws and state courts. This harsh and startling result was promptly remedied by Congress through an act of October 6, 1917, which in effect adopted as federal law the workmen's compensation statutes of the various states and allowed suit thereon, in cases which technically may be deemed to be "maritime torts," to be worked out through the state courts. Now the Supreme Court, again by a majority of one, holds that Congress has exceeded its constitutional powers and that the Constitution makes Congress impotent to adopt as federal law the respective workmen's compensation laws of the various states in cases where industrial accidents occur not wholly on land.

The objection urged against this legislation is that it makes different rules for different places, that is, that maritime injuries in the harbor of New York are to be governed by the New York Workmen's Compensation law, while injuries in the harbor of San Francisco are governed by California law. To this Mr. Justice Holmes, speaking for his dissenting brethren, answers:

I see nothing in the Constitution to prevent that. The only matters with regard to which uniformity is pro-

vided for in the instrument so far as I now remember, are duties, imposts and excises, naturalization and bankruptcy, in Article I, Section 8. As to the purpose of the clause concerning the judicial power in these cases nothing is said in the instrument itself. To read into it a requirement of uniformity more mechanical than is deduced from the express requirement of equality in the fourteenth amendment seems to me extravagant.

Indeed, the Supreme Court has in several instances sanctioned the adoption of state legislation as the applicable federal law. Very frequently it is the only wise kind of legislation in a federal system as extensive as ours where local conditions vary even though federal authority is supreme. In other words, federal law may act on the principle of federalism and decentralize its legislation. This is precisely what was done in the regulation of liquor prior to the adoption of the eighteenth amendment, and the Webb-Kenyon act had the sanction of the Supreme Court. It is blind trifling with facts and principles to claim, as the majority opinion contends, that the Webb-Kenyon opinion proceeded upon "the peculiar nature of intoxicants which gives enlarged power concerning them." To this contention Mr. Justice Holmes makes a deservedly sharp answer:

I cannot for the moment believe that apart from the eighteenth amendment special constitutional principles exist against strong drink. The fathers of the Constitution, so far as I know, approved it. . . . I assume that Congress could not delegate to State legislatures the simple power to decide what the law of the United States should be in that district. But when institutions are established for ends within the power of the states I take it to be an admitted power of Congress to provide that the law of the United States shall conform as nearly as may be to what for the time being exists.

So Congress willed—that what Mr. Justice Holmes calls an "admitted power" should be the law of the United States, but five members of the Supreme Court have now willed otherwise. The result is that a workman who dies on a gang-plank between a vessel and a wharf leaves his dependents remediless or, at the most, the victims of those slim chances of a lottery known as the common-law rules of liability as between master and servant; whereas if he had providentially died on the wharf, those he leaves behind him would have been taken care of under the Workmen's Compensation law.

This simple statement of facts makes its own commentary upon the farce that is now called the "law" governing injuries to maritime workers. Prompt relief is demanded. Congress should at once pass a liberal nation-wide workmen's compensation law within the scope of its jurisdiction. To less than that neither the self-interest of maritime workers nor the conscience of the nation can submit. But the evil of such decisions as that which



we are here discussing lives after their rectification. One wonders if the venerable Chief Justice and his colleagues realize how they sap confidence in the "law" which they administer and in the Constitution of which they are the special guardians. "Petty decisions" make a petty Constitution and swell the tide of discontent against its petty and rigid restrictions more than all the diatribes of "agitators."

## A Program of Action

**E**VEN those who are glad, as we are glad, that the Knox resolution was vetoed, cannot fail to notice the mistakes of fact and logic which the veto message contains. It declares that the Treaty of Versailles "did seek to accomplish the objects we had declared to be in our minds, *because* (sic) all the great governments and peoples which united against Germany had adopted our declarations of purpose as their own and had in solemn form embodied them in communication to the German government preliminary to the armistice of November 11, 1918." This is, of course, a non sequitur of the first magnitude. The indisputable fact that the governments promised to make an American peace becomes in the President's argument a proof that such a peace was made. When the President enumerates the omissions in the Knox resolution which the Treaty presumably supplies, he names "freedom of navigation upon the seas" which is not mentioned in the Treaty and was specifically exempted in the armistice, and the release of the Christian populations of Asia Minor, a topic which is not dealt with at all in the treaties with Germany and Austria.

Such inaccuracy and looseness of thought inevitably weakens the force of the President's major premise. That premise is undeniably important. It is that America is in a world, the parts of which are sufficiently dependent one upon the other, to make isolation an impossible doctrine in the long run. America was involved in the world system which produced the war, was profoundly affected by the conduct of the war, and cannot escape the burden of reconstruction deposited by the war. Sound criticism of the Treaty does not deny any of these statements. What it denies is the power of the Treaty of Versailles to provide a method for the reconstruction of the world. But such criticism is admittedly negative. If the Treaty is not the remedy, if in fact the Treaty is an obstacle to remedy, what is the remedy?

Is it possible for those who agree on American responsibility, but differ about the Treaty, to find now a common program of action? We believe that such a program has been formulated, which might

be realized in spite of the manifest political difficulties in the way. The program we refer to is that suggested by Mr. Henry P. Davison in his recent speech at Des Moines.

Mr. Davison is the chairman of the Board of Governors of the League of Red Cross Societies. In that capacity he has access to first hand reports of conditions in Central and Eastern Europe. The substance of these reports has been published in the press. No honorable person can ignore them, and no humane person can rest easy after reading them. If it were not that their emotions are for the moment exhausted, Mr. Davison's speech would have stirred the American people as profoundly as any utterance since the war began. Typhus cases approaching a quarter of a million, famine, furious death rates, idleness, cold, congestion, and no means in sight to start industry, or to restore exchange between the farms and the cities: Central Europe is today the largest area of human misery and hopelessness known to the modern history of the Western world.

Mr. Davison, like Mr. Vanderlip before him, knows that private charity and private enterprise cannot reach the causes of the horror. He does not believe that the great organization of which he is the head, could, even if it had the resources, do anything commensurate with the problem. He speaks, therefore, with knowledge supplied by the agencies of the Red Cross, as a financier and an American citizen. He says that nothing less than an American government credit on liberal terms approximating \$500,000,000 can meet the need.

Mr. Davison is too well informed, however, to imagine that such a loan made to the governments of Central Europe, or made outright to industries would do any good. He realizes and implies, though he has not said so bluntly, that this credit cannot of itself reconstruct, unless it is used with the utmost skill to break down artificial political obstacles, and to force governments to seek peace. He does not propose, therefore, to have the Secretary of the Treasury allocate credit to the Missions in Washington in the lavish and thoughtless way it was done during the war. He proposes to have the fund administered by an American Commission stationed in Central Europe, and he asks that this commission be given full powers, really full powers, not only power to give credit where it is needed, but to stipulate political conditions and demand political guarantees.

The success of the whole plan would depend in our opinion upon the degree to which the American administrators applied a realistic knowledge of the major facts of Europe. If they worked under the illusions that botched the peace at Paris, if they



were men indoctrinated by the propaganda of governments and the misinformation of the censorship, if they were diverted and distracted by the echoes of the war, then they would not relieve Europe, and they would waste the money.

This point cannot be overemphasized, for the tendency not to stress certain unpopular, but decisive facts, is to be found in what favorable response Mr. Davison's plan has had.

The field of operation is Central Europe from the Baltic to the Black and Adriatic Seas. This means the Balkan Powers, Austria, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Lithuania and the Baltic States. It is stated, and quite rightly, that there is genuine interdependence between these peoples and America, that America cannot remain isolated from them. If this is true of America, how infinitely more true is it of the two great Powers which lie east and west of this area? If a nation four thousand miles away, across a vast ocean, affects and is affected by the state of these populations, what of Germany contiguous on the west and Russia contiguous on the east? If America cannot build a Chinese Wall, can America permit a Chinese Wall to be built?

This is fundamental, and until it is frankly, boldly and publicly faced, the reconstruction of Central Europe is a meaningless phrase. Central Europe is part of Europe, and German industry and Russian natural resources are European and indispensable. An American commission which did not begin by restoring the freedom of intercourse, between Germany, Russia, Central Europe, and the world, would be pouring money into a stagnant pool.

The restoration of intercourse means, therefore, a radical revision of the Treaty, and a peace with Russia. That would be the primary condition of any effective use of the half-billion dollar fund. Other conditions would necessarily follow. Among these would be the retirement of the Poles within their ethnic frontiers, the elimination of Allied militarists from the high councils of the small nations, the breakdown of economic barriers between the new states, the release of Austria from the French veto, and the administration of the railroads, fuel supply, minerals in large economic units, the stoppage of all munitions of war from the outside world, and the prompt demobilization of all armies not needed for internal police, as rapidly as industry could be started or farm equipment supplied.

The program, in short, involves nothing less than the negotiation on the spot of a new settlement east of the French frontier. The American administrators could not shirk that burden, except at the risk of complete failure, for if they failed to undo the political mischief devised at Versailles, they would find no real security whatever for their loans

because there would be no prospect of permanent peace.

The advantage of Mr. Davison's plan is that it would quickly reveal these necessities to any competent group of men who had to administer such a vast responsibility. They would see on the spot manifest necessities which no amount of talking and writing over here seems able to convey.

If they saw them, and acted on them decisively, and with the power which such a credit would carry, they might even now consecrate the victory, which has been tarnished by the yielding of weak men to sinister men. If they succeeded they would save human lives and revive the human spirit. Is there a greater use for money or a greater purpose in government? What they could do for suffering men and women more than justifies the plan. But the ultimate effects would be even greater. If they succeeded in bringing real peace to Europe, they would do more to save America than all the armaments and alliances in the world. There can be no greater safety for America, no greater freedom to work out our own democratic experiment in our own way, than to base that freedom upon the friendship of the plain peoples of the world. That friendship would be ours, not only in Central Europe but in every nation where there are men who can respond to a generous enterprise bravely and wisely administered.

Mr. Davison's plan is simple in idea, and as adequate as any that is likely to be suggested. It carries the only guarantees that any plan could conceivably carry, for it is flexible to meet the complex set of facts. It recognizes a duty and is adjusted to a need; above all it avoids the sterility of the debate on the Treaty by combining bold acceptance of European responsibility with a practical means of revising the settlement. We can do nothing better now than to unite behind it all those who care.

## *The New* REPUBLIC *A Journal of Opinion*

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# Regeneration

This article is a chapter of a book entitled *The Breach in Civilization* which will be published early in the fall by The Macmillan Co. It is preceded by a discussion of the essential faults which have recently developed in the structure and behavior of modern society and it is followed by an attempt to deduce from a better knowledge of human nature a method of individual and social fulfillment.

## I

**I**F there is any truth to the foregoing diagnosis of the sickness of modern civilization, it points towards one promising remedy. Ever since the passing of Catholicism men have searched for a new body of authoritative knowledge which would bind humanity together and save it from falling a victim to its prepossessions, aberrations and distempers. They tried but failed to find it in individual or sectarian interpretations of the sacred writings or in individual or sectarian disquisitions on theology and the church. Those of them who shifted their ground and sought for illumination in the methodical exploration of natural processes and of the relation of man to nature followed a sound impulse in getting away from the sterility of the Protestant sectarian disputes; but in spite of their immense success in reading order into nature, their own contributions to salutary truth are unsatisfactory. Science is not bankrupt, as its Catholic critics have alleged, but it certainly leaves human beings still gasping for a light that doesn't fail. Its achievements have only intensified that moral chaos, of which the war with its barren victory, its peace without appeasement and the ominous Bolshevist menace are different but closely connected expressions. Yet the human mind cannot abandon the pursuit of a truth, the acknowledgment of which will make for human liberation and fulfillment. The search has failed, not because the searchers have known too much or because they possessed too much confidence in knowledge, but because they have known too little and they could not distinguish between knowledge and ignorance. They did not know enough about the object of all their solicitude, which is human nature.

The lack of a method appropriate to its material has always hampered modern scientific inquiry into human nature. It took a century or more of largely futile research to uncover the cause of the futility and to work out the needed instruments of investigation. Not only are they still very imperfect, but there is an intimate association between their imperfection and the want of authority which clings to the existing knowledge of human nature.

They approached the study of human nature

along two different routes. The first of these routes was born of the perplexities and necessities of Protestant subjective individualism. Its travellers were for the most part men whose study of the individual soul was an incidental result of their fundamental interest in rearranging the furniture of the universe from the point of view of Protestant theology. They devoted most of their attention to the metaphysics of personality and the psychology of knowledge and of ethics. They achieved certain permanently useful distinctions in their several fields, but the great value of their work consisted in its convincing demonstration of the sterility of their particular approach to the study of human nature. Trotter has well characterized the cause of its sterility as "the absence of an objective standard by which the value of mental observation could be tested." Their only dependable method was that of introspection; and introspection never allowed them to escape from the limits of a personal report upon what was happening within the walls of to other people an inaccessible house. They tried to generalize these reports; but no matter how much they recognized the need of generalization, their method confined them chiefly to journeys in a circle around the circumference of individual minds.

The students who adopted the second route in the exploration of human nature started under the influence of violent reaction against the sterility of Protestant subjectivism and all its ways. They were interested in man as a part of an out-door world. In studying him, they not only considered him public property, but they believed they could capture the secrets of the human mind by the use of the same presuppositions and methods which they had used so successfully in the study of nature. The presupposition which they had used in the study of nature was that all its processes are completely describable and predictable. The test of knowledge consisted in the ability to utter predictions which the event would verify. Verified predictions indicated the existence of that completely describable and predetermined universe which satisfied the needs of science. They started out, consequently, to discover laws of human nature which account for its past behavior and foreshadow its future behavior. Sociologists, such as Auguste Comte, the early economists, Karl Marx, Herbert Spencer and Benjamin Kidd, all presumed to discover principles which generalized social phenomena and which, in so far as they were true, predicted future necessities of human conduct.



The method and the mistake of the early sociologists were the opposite of those of the early psychologists. The psychologists attributed the value of science to their reports about private journeys through the length and breadth of their consciousness. The sociologists not only disregarded introspection but for purposes of science denied privacy and autonomy to human nature. The individual was swallowed up in a naturalized social process, which deprived him of moral control over his own conduct. The laws of this social process triumphed over the secrecies and the peculiarities of all human minds. It substituted a remorseless and indecent publicity for the sterile but well-behaved reticence of the early psychology.

If the early sociologists could have agreed in their statements of the laws of social change or if they could have agreed in their predictions of future social events, they might have been hard to refute. But they never reached any such unanimity. Not only did almost all of them give different descriptions of the processes of human conduct, but even those who, like the early economists and Karl Marx, agreed in attributing the same moving forces to human nature, differed radically in their predictions as to the outcome of the movement. Scientists who could not convince one another were not likely to convince the public. Little by little the early sociology suffered from as much discredit as the early psychology; but this condemnation fortunately did not result in the abandonment of the investigation. It resulted in a vigorous criticism of the pseudo-science and in the gradual adoption of a more promising approach to the study of human nature. Psychology moved towards naturalism without renouncing its interest in the individual soul. Sociologists learned the futility of passing imperious legislation about the necessities of human conduct. They came to conceive society as a psychological and in part a logical rather than merely a natural process. They attached great importance to the successful prediction of human behavior, but rather in the hope of subsequently modifying its course than in discovering social laws which determined human conduct.

The newer psychological sociology conceives human nature as the composite embodiment of countless generations of animal life, under increasingly socialized conditions. As in the case of his animal ancestors, man's sensory, motor and emotional equipment functions in subordination to the primary instincts of self-preservation, nutrition and reproduction. But in addition, man is a gregarious animal whose individual safety is dependent on that of his social group. He is extremely sensitive to

social suggestions and obligations. His social sensitiveness, as in the case of the other gregarious animals, is wrought into the mechanism of his impulses, but in the case of man it obtains a unique expression. Man is distinguished from the other gregarious animals by his larger brain and by the immensely wider margin within which he can vary without becoming injurious because of his variations to the safety of his society. As a consequence of his larger brain, his individual peculiarities, the tools which his ingenuity has placed at his disposal and the improved means of communication with his fellows which he has invented and is developing, he has come into possession of a socializing apparatus which modifies profoundly the operation of his primary instincts and their obsequious emotions. A competent understanding of human nature depends chiefly upon a sound description of the relation between these primary instincts, whose operations are frequently unconscious and this apparatus of social adjustment, whose operation is usually conscious yet whose appearances in consciousness are frequently disconcerting and deceptive.

According to the foregoing account, the fundamental ingredients of human nature derive from two main sources. There are in the first place certain instinctive impulses which are in part intensely self-centered and which in part are gregarious, but which in both cases are inherited from the ages in which mankind was occupied chiefly in a struggle to live and carry on life. There are in the second place certain rules and conventions which were formed after mankind became conscious of social relations and obligations and which are imposed on him from his cradle by the varied and powerful machinery of social suggestion. Between these two ingredients there is a conflict, which is the central fact in human nature and which recurs in the life of every individual. "From an early period the child finds the gratification of its instinctive impulses prevented by the pressure of that social environment. Conflict is thus set up between the two forces of instinctive pressure from within and social pressure from without. Instinctive impulses which thus come into conflict with the repressive force are not destroyed but are deflected from their natural outlet, are repressed within the mind, and are ultimately prevented from rising into the conscious field at all except in disguised or symbolic forms." A counter impulse which is "strong enough to contend with an impulse having in it the energy of the sex impulse must itself derive its force from some potent mechanism." The human mind must possess a "specific sensitiveness to external opinion and the capacity to confer on its pre-



cepts the sanction of instinctive force." This specific sensitiveness is the result of its past experience as a gregarious animal and forms the instinctive basis of the operation of the whole apparatus of social control.

The essential conflict which psychologists have discovered in human nature is not, however, a conflict between two divergent groups of instincts, one of which is selfish and the other social. It is a conflict rather between the whole body of inherited human instincts which are partly egotistic and partly gregarious and the conscious apparatus of control whereby these instincts are adjusted to one another and to the necessary conditions of their contemporary social expression. Yet essential as the affirmation of this conflict is to the understanding of human nature, it would be a fatal perversion of the truth to describe it as irreconcilable. The conflict is a permanent but not an irretrievable fact. There is no way of avoiding the systematic repression of the instinctive impulses. The abandonment of the social censorship would result in the dissipation both of the individual and society. But the censorship must recognize its limitations and opportunities. It is quite incapable of eradicating the instincts which it is obliged to repress. It can only divert them into other channels of expression. The fulfillment both of the individual and of society depends upon the nature and the abundance of these alternative outlets. If the repression is too drastic and prolonged, the compensating expression tends to be violent and distracting. Even if the discipline is no more drastic and prolonged than is required by the conditions of its success, society needs in the interest of its own well-being to use every precaution in providing sufficient alternative outlets. In so far as it fails to do so, the smothered impulses will break out and demand compensation in an abnormal and rebellious instead of a well-behaved and adjustable expression. Thus while the conflict is permanent and intrudes itself under varying forms into the lives of all individuals and all societies, it forms an inexorable condition of individual and social fulfillment rather than an insuperable obstacle to it. It becomes an insuperable obstacle only when the censorship is malevolent and stupid instead of being considerate, humane and flexible.

The significance of the foregoing general conception of human nature from the point of view of the present inquiry is manifest and critical. For one thing it justifies the phrase "human nature" as descriptive of something more real than either the individual or society. The individual is a social product. The conversations in which he participates

through the agency of his own consciousness and within the privacy of his own soul are only the subjective echoes of a process of social adjustment. It is a social logic which determines their meaning. But the process of social adjustment itself is one which, if it is not to go astray, must be reflected and affirmed by the individual mind. This human nature which is both individual and social is incomplete and in the making. It is essentially composite and essentially mobile. It is always moving in some direction or other. Its movement is always conditioned by the conflict between its primary impulses and its consciousness of the limitations and the opportunities under which at a given time they must obtain expression. If those limitations are drastic and the counter-opportunities obscure and insufficient, it is thrown back on itself and feeds for a while, cannibal-like, on its own substance. But it can never travel far in this in-growing direction. Eventually, by some act of violence, it breaks out, forces a readjustment of conditions which offers new opportunities of movement, and for a while resumes its march. Its ability to move forward always depends on the self-confidence, the alertness, the flexibility and the opportunity of this mechanism of conscious adjustment.

Those who deny the mobility of human nature commit the mortal sin against its integrity and its promised fulfillment. For its chance of integrity and fulfillment is tied up not only with its mobility but with its consciousness of mobility. In so far as the mental attitude of an existing society makes no allowance and no preparation for mobility, human nature is for the time being thwarted. It tends to become the victim of some ruling passion or vested interest which fears change and which seeks to erect barriers against the loss of its own domination. The ruling special interest secures the allegiance of other individual and social interests as the tributaries of its sovereignty. Interests which it cannot enslave it seeks to destroy. Its very survival comes increasingly to depend upon the creation within human nature of a special kingdom of its own—one which is really equivalent to a conspiracy on behalf of the aggrandizement of one particular interest at the expense of human nature as a whole. The conspiracy always fails. Human nature must move. It destroys conspirators against its integrity with inexorable certainty. When they are too well established to be destroyed in any other way, it first makes them mad and provokes them to destroy themselves. But in so far as it occupies itself merely with destroying conspiracies against its integrity, it is not moving towards its own fulfillment. It moves towards its own fulfillment only by virtue



of studying the obstacles in its path and of using its insight in order to lay out its course in the interest of its own harmonious growth.

## II

Readers may turn away from such an account of human nature as an old and platitudinous story. So it certainly is. It is at least as old as Christianity and as platitudinous as the average sermon on the Resurrection of Christ. But familiar as it may be, the great majority of men and women who are engaged in doing the world's work consistently ignore it in their behavior. They have never ignored it more completely than during the past few years. Civilization consists substantially of a laborious and endless effort to persuade human beings to understand and to act on this conception of the mobility in its relation to the integrity of human nature. The effort is endless as well as laborious, because whenever any success has accrued, its special beneficiaries have always proposed to stop moving. Success is the signal for another conspiracy by some new vested interest against the flexibility of human life and some new attempt to surround the conspiracy with all the sanctions of social order and religious truth. States, churches, ruling classes, creeds, philosophies, religions, traditions and customs, all at some period, and many at all periods, of their careers are the favorite instruments of these conspiracies.

The perpetrators of the worst crimes against humanity have justified their behavior by general theories of human nature which expressly or tacitly deny the preceding platitudes. The ascetics of all ages, perhaps the most destructive of social perverses, risked human salvation upon a perfectly arbitrary prostitution of vital human impulses to an inhuman censorship. The fanatics of all ages could never have driven their wedges into human life if they had not convinced their fellows of the ultimate morality of purification by sacrifice or extermination. The persecutors of all ages have proclaimed in defiance of manifest psychological truth that the free movement of the intelligence was the enemy rather than the indispensable friend of the integrity of the human mind. The militarists and the policemen of all ages have promulgated with impunity the false report of some irremediable perversity in human nature which made regimentation the only road to redemption. The rich of all ages have justified their own aggrandizement by attributing without warrant to the poor a fatal disability which disqualifies the majority of human beings from learning and deserving the material conditions of human liberation. The successful races have presumed to impute their success to some virtue of

blood which authorized them to rule over their inferior competitors.

Modern history abounds in these attempts to justify the temporary success of a nation, of a group of nations or a class by crowning it as a necessity of human nature. The most flagrant and conspicuous of these essays was that of the Germans in imputing their temporary preponderance of power to a racial superiority which bestowed upon the triumphal procession of German industry, science, politics and militarism the awful sanction of an irresistible cosmic tide. Now that the Germans are prostrate and their downfall has exposed the absurdity of this particular anthropological theory, their conquerors yield to the temptation of proclaiming and acting on the opposite of the German pretension. They impute to their vanquished enemies an essential and permanent moral inferiority, which justifies the victors in considering the German nation as an outlaw and in subjecting it to permanent political disability. Germans are not like other human beings. Their untrustworthy disposition constrains their victorious enemies systematically to discriminate against them.

This justification for the chief provisions of the Treaty of Versailles is more closely associated than at first appears with the general theory of the immutability of human nature. It depicts the Allied statesmen, not as free men who were able to act in obedience to certain declared principles of right, but as bondsmen, constrained by something inexorable in their human make-up, to fall back on the law of primitive justice and compensation. "Let no one suppose," says the Round Table in its issue of June, 1919, "that its (the Treaty's) mixture of motives could have been avoided even by the most disinterested and far-sighted statesmen in the spring of 1919. The world has been torn and embittered by the ravages of war for four and a half years and statesmen have to deal with human nature *which is always what it is.*" (My italics.)

The foregoing passage expresses in its ultimate form the most respectable and stubborn obstacle to the understanding, the liberation and the fulfillment of human life. Human nature, they say, is always what it is; it is not that which it has the power of becoming. Because it is what it is, its leaders must yield to the particular passions, grievances, animosities and interests which happen to prevail at any one time. These passions and interests must run their course, no matter what counter-passions, animosities and grievances they provoke. After they have run their course and have created at the end, say, of ten years of peace a new set of grievances similar to those created by the four and a half



years of war, human nature will still be what it is. The new grievances will be kept alive by the powerful group of special interests which profit from them, which will resist any remedial efforts and which will defend their resistance by some new application of the theory of human immobility. The victorious and successful party always discovers a sufficient excuse for ignoring the claims of its vanquished competitors as human beings. It acts on the excuse, circumscribes their lives at the bidding of its own feelings and interests, provokes on their part a passionate sense of wrong and an enduring desire for retaliation, and so sets the stage for some new trial by combat and some new confusion of vindication with victory. Such is the tragedy of a civilization which wanders helpless in the wilderness of moral subjectivism and wilful ignorance of human nature. It is distracted by apparently irresistible impulses to contrive out of special parts or phases of human life neurotic conspiracies against human life as a whole.

The theory that human nature always is what it is usually assumes the form of some iron law of human frustration. Usually but not always. As we have seen in our discussion of liberalism, humanitarian enthusiasts gave expression to a natural law of human conduct which was also a natural law of human fulfillment. But it was a precarious and a fugitive enterprise. No matter whether we place the Garden of Eden at the beginning or end of the process, it never wears for long an aspect of reality. It ignores the permanent part which conflict plays in the drama of human life and the necessity of authoritative knowledge and conscious direction as the one means of overcoming the conflict. These natural laws of human conduct do not for long bear an interpretation which is both honest and optimistic. They fasten attention on some immediately important expression of the conflict, immobilize the victorious interests and consecrate the useful pretense as a pious reality. But the conflict continues. No particular interest is victorious for long. Those who grasp the logic of the process are finally driven to the alternative of downright pessimism. If they are honest they fall back on some theory of original sin, which characterizes human nature as totally depraved. Assuming that human nature always is what it is, total depravity is the only trustworthy description of its ultimate reality and some miracle of purgatory or grace the only means of escape from the deep damnation of its natural delinquency.

Surely in this instance, if in no other, ideas are capable of modifying facts. People who believe that human nature is always what it is deprive themselves of any sufficient reason for acting as if

it were capable of becoming different and better. Because they will not act as if it were something different and better, they tend by their behavior to condemn human nature to remain just what it is. They perpetuate a helpless attitude in human beings towards their own shortcomings which ends by enabling those shortcomings to maintain a reputable existence. On the other hand, those to whom human nature is fundamentally and victoriously what it is capable of becoming can never put up with the Round Table's excuse for particular misdeeds. Their refusal to abjure will not avail by itself to regenerate human nature in the same way that the connivance of liberals in the Treaty of Versailles tended to keep it stagnant, but it will at least vindicate the state of mind which under happier circumstances can direct and move human nature toward its better fulfillment. Whenever those who proclaim that human nature is at bottom what it is capable of becoming are in a position to act on their conviction, they, too, will by their behavior tend to create the kind of human nature which corresponds to their belief.

Consider in this connection the Treaty of Versailles. Let us suppose that the Allied statesmen had framed a document wherein the victors practiced and covenanted thereafter to practice the same admirable principles of national renunciation and international good behavior which they imposed on the vanquished Germans. Suppose they had tried and succeeded in excluding from the Treaty all provisions which vested in one class or in one people an exclusive interest in impairing or suppressing the lives of the other people. Then suppose they had submitted this document to public opinion in their several countries and dared its enemies to reject it. Its enemies would have been stiffnecked and powerful. They would have accepted the challenge. They might have defeated the proposed Treaty. But whether they defeated it or not, the Peace Congress by acting on a conviction of the better possibilities of human nature would have contributed enormously to the realization of those possibilities. They would either have ensured the adoption of a more humane system of public law which would mitigate the power of some of the most stubborn obstacles to human liberation, or they would have proclaimed a fighting creed which would subsequently become the test and the victorious weapon of aggressive liberalism. They would have helped liberals to escape from the impossible position of always choosing between being the opponents or the accomplices of the foreign policies of their governments. They would have developed an international program which, unlike that of the



Socialists, did not demand the destruction of the national governments, but which sought to moralize national behavior. There would have resulted a prodigious increase in the reality and self-confidence of liberalism. Liberals would have become the human agents of a clearly justifiable cause, which was born of the essential liberal aspiration for the enlightenment of power by humane knowledge. If they failed eventually to secure the acceptance of such a Treaty, they would fail, not as at present, because liberalism is untrue to its own aspirations and divided against itself, but because evil was temporarily stronger than good. But in any event the fight for a Treaty which unequivocally embodied humane ideals would have developed in those who fought on its behalf the very quality of moral educability which is essential to human liberation and to which an immobile human nature cannot attain.

Theories about human nature are the expression of practical attitudes towards human life and are inseparable from such attitudes. Those who believe it to be immobile and consequently condemned to total depravity are not determined in their belief by scientific motives, no matter how scientific an appearance their theory wears. The belief is the expression of a wilful craving for mastery rather than of a disinterested search for truth. The immobilizers of human nature are really seeking to dominate it, to prevent its escape from their grip, to confine it to the business of working for them and their fellows and to thwart some essential part of it without any scruples about compensation. They are rationalizing a vested interest by incorporating its prestige and continued victory in the constitution of mankind. They do not succeed by means of such propaganda in perpetuating for more than a brief period the favored interest. Their particular version of the general theory of human immobility and depravity may not win any more scientific approval than did the Prussian theory of German racial superiority. Its utterances may in the end contribute to the downfall of the arrogant interest as it did in the case of Germany. But its downfall and the discredit which may substantially attach to that particular application of the general theory of human immobility and depravity does nothing to discredit the prestige of the theory in general. The vitality of the theory depends on the vitality of the disposition in society to subordinate knowledge of human nature to power over it. As long as statesmen and political agitators and business men act on it and as long as the Christian ministry compromises with it, the people will continue to believe in it as a truth about human nature

which paralyzes the conscious search for human liberation. The German conviction of racial superiority could not create racial superiority, but it could play its part in keeping human nature in bondage to an inexorable law of compensation. Is there any science which can emancipate human nature from bondage to the body of this death? Is there any way in which those who believe in the living truth about human nature—the truth that it is mobile not in the sense of being fluid but in the sense of being open to religious education—can succeed in propagating their belief?

Not surely by the means which are sufficient in other regions of science. In spite of the encouraging increase in the available fund of trustworthy psychological and sociological knowledge and in spite of the excellent use which statesmen, agitators, clergymen and business men could make of this knowledge, few of them are acquainted with it or show any disposition to get acquainted. This knowledge will not, like knowledge of physical processes, secure acceptance by its own incontestable truth. Books have been written for the purpose of bringing the knowledge which has been accumulated by psychologists into touch with the actual problems of present civilized life, but they have not and will not accomplish their object. Investigators who possess useful knowledge about man and want the powerful to understand and act on the knowledge, are not distributing a kind of truth whose unfamiliarity and intrinsic difficulty are the chief obstacles to its acceptance. The people whom they need and hope to convince are not in this respect disinterested. They are opposed to the growth of moral psychology or to the vindication of its truth. Most men of affairs have the best of reasons for rejecting the results of disinterested inquiries into human nature. Consciously or unconsciously they are themselves acting on a theory of human nature which suits their special needs and which is not and cannot be disinterested. By acting on their own theory they adopt the one perfect method of confirming its truth. By acting on the disinterested psychological knowledge, which depicts human nature as essentially mobile, as dangerously contradictory but as possibly redeemable if its mobility is made tributary to its integrity—they are untrue to their own particular interests and so far invalidate the theory of human nature with which particular interests have always fortified their domination.

The requirements of disinterested scientific research into human nature are more exacting and varied than the requirements of a disinterested scientific research towards nature which is not human. In the investigation of physical processes,



an exclusively scientific motive and method are sufficient and indispensable. The only object is truth; all investigators accept a common test of truth; and its achievement is an expression of human domination over things and processes to whom domination is no offense. In this region knowledge is not any less knowledge because it may lend itself to the purposes of power. But a disinterested scientific attitude towards human nature works differently. It requires on the part of the investigator a consciously moral relationship towards the object of his investigation. In this region, as in the other, truth is still the only object; but science possesses no common and certain test of what truth is. Different investigators act, as they think, on valid reasons for dividing truth up and for preferring one particular truth to another. The truth which will set one man or class or nation free will fasten bonds on another man or nation or class. What the investigator takes to be knowledge is constantly modified by purposes of power; and these purposes of power often betray the investigator and refract his vision of the truth. Indeed, the purposes of power are certain to betray the investigator unless he adopts an heroic precaution against the danger. The heroic precaution consists in *consciously affirming as an indispensable introduction to the knowledge of human life the independent and intrinsic value of all human life*. He who seeks to know the truth about human nature must begin by testifying that the only truth about human nature which he will accept as true is one which renounces the special purposes over human beings and seeks to liberate all men and the whole of man.

In other words there is no authentic knowledge of human nature without reverence for human nature. In so far as we begin the study of human life by reverencing the object of the study we attain to a knowledge of human life which is governed by a common test, which equalizes, liberates and fraternizes all human beings and which human beings reject at their own cost and peril. We attain a salutary and objective knowledge of human nature only by refusing to entertain any alleged knowledge as true which does not consider human nature sacred.

We must not, however, confuse the reverence for human nature, which is the indispensable approach to a knowledge of it, with an amiable disposition to believe nothing about it which is not agreeable and consoling. No matter how sacred the investigator may consider human nature as a whole, he will adopt an attitude towards the truth of all particular scientific theories and facts of human history and behavior as dispassionate and as ruth-

less as the attitude of an astronomer towards a proposed law of planetary movement. As we have already noted, conflict is a condition of human life. Civilized human beings may overcome particular phases of the conflict, but other phases will succeed and conflict itself will survive as long as life survives. The successful handling of particular conflicts demands an understanding of their peculiar character which can only be acquired by ignoring what we want to believe and by accepting without flinching the verdict required by the evidence in the case. It is most unfortunate that those human beings who have shown themselves most disposed to consider human life as sacred have also shown a disposition to sentimentalize or ignore that which is ugly and perverse in its composition. A yielding to this disposition is precisely the weakness against which trustworthy sciences of psychology and sociology should protect religious spirits. But it is also true that those sciences cannot and should not confine themselves to studying the conditions of the conflict and the means of temporary victory for one or another party to it. Soft-minded religious humanitarians are not the only people who believe what they want to believe about human nature. The realistic men of affairs and the sceptical observers of human life have always erred and sinned most flagrantly in this respect. Hypnotized as they were by their own special interests they had no vision of individual and social life as a whole. The interpretation of individual and social life as a whole requires reverence for the object of the interpretation. Such reverence is no less a part of the disinterested knowledge of human nature than are the results of the most exact, exhaustive and dispassionate study of the origin and behavior of particular interests and emotions. In this sense both psychology and sociology are moral sciences.

The phrase moral science has never stood for any very competent or trustworthy body of knowledge. Physical scientists have regarded its speculations with something like contempt. The actual achievements of moral science have justified the contempt. They did not lead to an authentic rule and method of individual and social life. No intellectual ingenuity, effort and insight could introduce moral order into a world distracted by Protestant subjective individualism. But if religion consists in the fulfillment of human life and if we can reach an authoritative knowledge of human nature which will help religious spirits to attain their end, the phrase moral science will gain a certainty of meaning which it has lacked since the fall of Catholicism. Men will know how to be good. Moral shepherds will no longer advise their flocks



not to be too ardent in their devotion to the faith. The dominant ideology will bring with it a sufficiently developed method of realization which can be put into immediate practice. We can inscribe on the altars of churches or the sign boards of lecture rooms and assembly halls as well as on the desks of business men the victorious phrase, "Do It Now."

Most important of all we should, by practicing a reverence for human nature, not only teach salutary truth about human life but we would learn much more rapidly what human nature is capable of becoming. If we do not know very much about the particular contours of human nature, it is partly because there is not at present enough to know. An inhuman and callous civilization which complacently permits life to feed on life has discouraged the novel development of human nature. In so far as development has occurred, it is disorderly, wasteful, distracted and subject to wholly unnecessary chances and casualties. But once let the conscience of mankind accept as a matter of religious conviction the mobility of human nature and once let it use scientific methods to find out how the movement can tend towards fulfillment rather than disintegration, and once let religious people act immediately and courageously on what they have learned, then human nature would unfold itself with unprecedented momentum. Then the successful fulfillment of human life and the true interpretation of human life would become the supplementary expressions of the desire for religious salvation which has always been the essential passion of civilized mankind.

HERBERT CROLY.

## Concerning Heroes

MANY months ago, there was an account in the Manchester Guardian of a conversation which the writer of it had with some Canadian soldiers on the subject of English literature. The soldiers said that certain classical authors, "particularly Dickens and Thackeray," ought to be scrapped because they wrote only of heroes who "can't earn their own livelihood and spend nearly all their time hanging after some old woman to get her money." They added to this condemnation of English authors in general—and of most authors of whatever nationality—a particular condemnation of Thackeray on the ground that "there are only two heroes in his books" who have "some sort of a job." One of these heroes, probably Henry Esmond who had the mental outlook of a pre-war footman, was held in little esteem by them. They said that he was a "dud" or, as Mark Antony described Lepidus,

a slight unmeritable man,

Meet to be sent on errands

Here's a pretty test for heroes, said I to myself, when I read the views of the Canadian soldiers. What hero, I demanded, when weighed in that balance will not be found wanting? It seemed to me that the Canadian soldiers' knowledge of Dickens's heroes must have been singularly slender, for if ever a man earned his bread by the sweat of his brow and his brain at long labors for small remuneration that man was Nicholas Nickleby. And surely it is no distortion of language to say of David Copperfield that for a part of his life he was a wage slave? Most of Dickens's heroes, indeed, like Dickens himself in his youth, were employed for a while in sweated industries.

What hero would survive the demand made by the Canadian soldiers that he shall be engaged in "some sort of a job?" How little of honest toil there was in the life of Hamlet to commend him to these rigorous critics, in whose eyes he must seem no more than an idle, moony youth who shilly-shallied over his love affair to such an extent that Ophelia went out of her mind and drowned herself. He could not even kill his stepfather with any sort of skill, but must needs go and get killed himself in the doing of it! Don Quixote must appear a sorry, feckless fellow to our Canadians—a poor, witless gentleman who never did a day's work in his life. What a loafer was Gil Blas! How seldom did Tom Jones consider the problem of improving his position in the world! Lord Orville, the good young man in Fanny Burney's *Evelina*, had as little industry as the bad young man, Sir Clement Wilmoughby. Indeed, the only seriously industrious hero in literature of whom I can think at the moment is the Devil in *Paradise Lost*. Many of these heroes—most of them, in fact—were not only idlers, but were also immoral. When one searches the work of Smollett, Fielding, Richardson, or that of the Comic Dramatists, Congreve, Wycherley, Vanbrugh, Farquhar, Beaumont and Fletcher, or of the great master of us all, Shakespeare, or goes abroad to Le Sage or Cervantes or Balzac or any other great writer whose name comes immediately into the mind, do we not find that the hero, in the majority of instances, is a loafer and a drunkard and a glutton, a gambler and a rake and a very quarrelsome fellow? Mr. B., who may, I suppose, be regarded as the hero of Richardson's *Pamela*, had no other object in life seemingly than the seduction of Pamela. The heroes of Congreve's comedies were bad men, employing their time chiefly in some sort of lechery. Gil Blas—how incredibly wicked a young man was Gil Blas! Could any friend of the late Dr. Samuel Smiles hold up Gil



Blas as a pattern to a young man earnestly seeking to obtain a respectable position in the world?

This curious criticism of English literature by the Canadian soldiers came back to my mind lately when I was travelling from Cincinnati to Toronto. I had to change trains at Detroit, and in order to pass the time of waiting between the arrival of the train from Cincinnati and the departure of the train for Toronto, I bought a popular American magazine and read it. I was impressed by the fact that the hero of each of the stories, oddly similar in form and theme, was a business man so closely engrossed in his work that he had no time for the consideration of anything but the problems of his employment. The villain, when there was a villain, was addicted to aesthetic pursuits. While the hero studied statistics and trade returns, the villain wasted his mental energies on art. Part of the design against the hero consisted of an effort to lure him from the consideration of Big Business to the consideration of culture. The more despicable of the villains lived in Greenwich Village, or were frequently to be seen in the purlieus of Washington Square holding converse of a subversive character with painters and poets and other varieties of "artistic" people. The heroine, if she were frail, attended at lectures by novelists, sometimes of foreign origin, in women's clubs, and was only rescued in the nick of time from her evil associates by the hero persuading her, just as she was about to give herself to the villainous aesthete, to take an interest in Big Business. The better type of heroine never felt any artistic impulse whatever: her whole mind was bent on Big Business! . . .

By the time my train left Detroit, I had discovered the cause of the Canadian soldiers' complaint against English literature: they were confusing moral indignation with literary appreciation, and were giving their support to a pernicious heresy, very prevalent in America, that the most interesting thing about a man is the job by which he keeps himself provided with food and lodging. If they had their way with our authors, they would very narrowly limit the scope of literature, and when we asked for works of art, they would offer us books of technical instruction. They have fallen into the error of the Puritan who imagines that man is desirable when he conforms to the common standard, the truth being that man is desirable only when he differs from the common standard. A blacksmith is interesting, not because he is a blacksmith, but because he is a man with passions and wayward fancies; and it is the loves and hates and incalculable things about that man which interest his fellows, rather than his occupation or

his identity with the generality of human beings. In a world of good men, the bad man is the only person of interest, not because he is bad but because he is different. Pegeen Mike fell in love with Christy Mahon because he had done something unusual in a place where no one ever did anything, and not because she admired a patricide. We recognize that conformity to the standard is necessary if the multitude of us are to get through this world with any kind of convenience, but in our hearts we admire the man who declines to conform, and wish that we had the courage or the selfishness to emulate his behavior.

Had the complaint against Dickens been that he followed too closely in the footsteps of Samuel Richardson, making his heroes too noble to be tolerable and his villains too wicked to be credible, there would have been reason in it. The problem which puzzled Hamlet, of how a man could "smile and smile and be a villain" offered no difficulties to Dickens. To his way of thinking, a man could not "smile and smile and be a villain": he could only scowl and scowl and be a villain. That is why Nicholas Nickleby is such a tiresome hero and Mr. Squeers is such a preposterous ruffian. It is hard to believe that Nickleby was always uttering exalted sentiments at great length: it is still harder to believe that Mr. Squeers never once kindly patted the head of a pupil at Dotheboys Hall.

We know, most of us, that Nature has so mixed up the elements in man that the villain of one moment is the hero of the next and the pioneer of today is the reactionary of tomorrow; but Dickens will have none of this pandering to Nature: his villains must be very villainous, and his heroes must be pedantically noble; and so, though an excess of villainy is more entertaining than an excess of virtue, there is a danger that Dickens's refusal to acknowledge Nature, even in his villains, will cause the downfall of his work. "She's a rum 'un, Natur'," said Mr. Squeers, and if Dickens had only paid attentive heed to his own schoolmaster, we would not now be lamenting the disrelish with which so many young people regard his books. Queerly enough, in Nicholas Nickleby, Dickens gives evidence against the Canadian soldiers in their argument that a man is of interest only when he is engaged in "some sort of a job." The inference to be drawn from the soldiers' argument is that the more valuable the work is, the more interesting is the man who performs it. But Nicholas Nickleby was far more entertaining when he was in the unproductive service of Mr. Vincent Crummles than he was in the highly useful employment of the Cheeryble Brothers.



The judgment of the world is against the Canadian soldiers, and it is against America. Work is not the chief end of man, nor is he of interest only or principally because of his occupation. There is a limited interest to be derived from reading of the way in which a man can take iron and beat it into shoes for horses and wheels for carts, but there is illimitable interest to be derived from an account of the way in which he wooed and loved and hated and died, and that interest is no less in extent when the man happens to be a tramp instead of the president of a railroad. The complaint made by the materialists who called themselves Puritans was that art was not definitely useful in the sense in which a steam-engine is useful, and something of that complaint must have been in the minds of the Canadian soldiers when they railed against heroes who had not got "some sort of a job." A variation of it is to be found in the argument employed by reactionaries against the education of working-class children in the amenities of life. Will a knowledge of music, they ask, enable a working-class child to earn more wages than it will

earn without a knowledge of music? If not, what is the use of teaching music to it? My relatives in Ulster, when I was a boy, frequently denounced novels on the ground that they were "all lies." The lying character of the novels consisted, not in their falsity to life (which would have been just criticism in most cases) but in the fact that they were avowedly fiction. The materialistic Puritans failed to realize that the purpose of all artistic endeavor is not to make life more convenient or comfortable, although incidentally it may have that effect, but to make life comprehensible. The reactionaries fail to understand that the purpose of education is not to enable a man to earn higher wages, but to get more out of life than he can get in a state of ignorance. My relatives failed to understand that bare truth is not of itself a desirable thing, but is made desirable by the power of imagination to make it a means of illumination. And the Canadian soldiers failed to understand that Man, the creature of impulse, is greater in every way than Man, the servant of necessity.

ST. JOHN ERVINE.

## Will Labor Make the Next Move?

**T**HERE are reasons for believing that we are about to see the erection of one of the outstanding landmarks in the history of industry. For the participation of the workers in the management and the administration of production and in the development of a technique for industry, if made both fervent and effective, will undoubtedly cause a larger increase in the output per individual than has resulted per se from either the introduction of machinery or the development of Scientific Management.

The danger of our present industrial situation lies in the well-nigh universal conviction of impending change. Such a ferment in itself may be wholesome, but it implies leadership if in moving our moorings we are to make a real progress. The public shows no disposition to "settle things" much as it has been importuned to do so. Defensive tactics such as are now for the most part engrossing the attention of the employing group are incompatible with constructive leadership. The needed move logically is labor's, if labor can be brought to see it and seeing it to embrace the opportunity.

Perhaps the most prevalent argument for a new organization for industry grows out of an altogether unavoidable conviction that greater freedom in thought and action must be introduced into in-

dustry as it has been into religious matters and to a somewhat lesser extent into our political life. We are becoming more interested in the functions of industry and not quite so much in its institutions. But if industry is to become first less autocratic and then increasingly democratic it will be through the development of the mechanisms of collective action—"collective bargaining" and that which shall come after. Collective action presupposes collective responsibility. Except in a perfunctory sort of way, for individual output labor at present entertains no such responsibility. Labor's attitude is at best only observant. Except as to wages, hours and working conditions, labor yields only "passive concurrence." "The wage incentive and other stimuli such as profit sharing do not make the workers feel fundamentally interested in their tasks. If the full productive capacity which is at this time both consciously and unconsciously withheld from society is ever to be released labor must participate in the conduct of industry."

If we could assume that labor is now receiving at least a "fair share" of any increase in production, we could also assume labor's willingness to participate in building up a more efficient industry, simply because labor has more to gain than any other group in the community through a betterment in status.



However, a final determination as to the fairness of labor's present portion does not appear to be an essential precedent to the adoption by labor for certain purposes of a comprehensive plan for participating in the managerial and administrative phases of the production process.

Labor's attention has recently been directed to the significance of increased production through a realization of the fact that even a large increase in piece rates or week's wages may mean a radical loss in *real wages* when, as now, such increased wage is accompanied by a lessened buying power for the dollar. A more immediate incentive for labor to make the effort to participate in the on-sweeping development of the science of industry and, in increasing measure, in the management and administration of production is the educational and inspirational value to the individual of such participation. Any system which denies to the individual some part in the "adventure of industry" is doomed. And in the long run it is demoralizing to such individual to refrain from the fullest participation permitted. Imagine if you can a ball-player who does not try to make hits and to avoid errors!

Then there is the tremendous impetus which would be given to the labor movement, reacting favorably on every man and woman included in it, through having labor stand out before the community as not only back of a program of production but energetically claiming—first through its leaders and ultimately through its rank and file—a responsible part in scheming out and executing such a program. These new contacts would provide the best possible training for the larger responsibilities which will come to labor under any revamping of the present industrial order.

Within the ranks of labor are many who feel that some other system of industrial organization would be much better for society at large than the present one. Accepting the point of view for the sake of the argument it is altogether probable that those who advocate such change in the social structure have everything to gain and nothing to lose through acquainting themselves with the methods which now obtain in the industrial field and by a whole-hearted participation in the development of better methods. Even those of the extreme left who look forward to the time when our present organization is to be completely upset, and who have studiously refrained from any effort toward a better ordered industry, can cooperate on the plan herein suggested.

For a sharp distinction must be made as between the method itself and working under it. We can elect to work fast or slowly whether the method

is good or bad, crude or scientific. A highly developed technique for industry does not narrow the opportunities for even extreme methods of warfare such as soldiering or sabotage. Without condoning conduct which is immoral, uneconomic or puerile it is nevertheless a fact that if the necessities of a certain kind of labor campaigning suggest the advisability of retarding production, or even of stopping it entirely, such action is not precluded because of the fact that under normal conditions, the industry concerned is organized and conducted in a highly efficient manner. The more cooperation and science we have in industry the more delicate become the adjustments and the less the effort required to retard or even to jar it. One can take liberties with an Ingersoll watch which would put a more delicately adjusted Swiss watch out of business.

While a new and big idea may become a part of our consciousness almost instantly, it usually takes a long time and plenty of work to develop the technique with which to make that same idea effective. In view of all that modern science makes possible, the development of the technique for any industry is no mean task and at best is a matter of years. Practically every industry has the greater part of this development work ahead of it. I know of no industry which can be said to have made more than a good beginning on the probable revisions of its methods. In such industries as coal mining and leather we find relative contentment with conditions that, judged by reasonable standards, are both inefficient and abhorrent. In fact, the day of a genuinely effective industry is just dawning.

Organized labor has been moving, perhaps in no very constant or consistent manner, but nevertheless moving in the direction not only of a recognition of its interest in production but of its obligation to participate broadly in obtaining production. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, recently wrote:

The trades union movement of America understands fully the necessity for adequate production of the necessities of life. American labor understands, perhaps more fully than do American statesmen, the needs of the world in this hour, and it is exerting every effort to see that those needs are met with intelligence and with promptness. The question of increased productivity is not a question of putting upon the toilers a more severe strain; it is a question of vast and fundamental changes in the management of industry; a question of the elimination of outworn policies; a question of the introduction of the very best in machinery and methods and management.

Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, said a week or two ago in Boston:



We cannot evade this question of production. The Amalgamated cannot accept the ordinary rule of commerce, the principle of the business man, which is to give as little as possible and take as much as possible. We must take a different attitude and accept responsibility for production. We cannot have sabotage by withholding production; we cannot have loafing; we must have production and we must recognize our responsibility.

At the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor (June 1919) scientific research was enthusiastically endorsed as "a potent factor in the ever-increasing struggle of the workers to raise their standard of living." As research may well cover process and method the whole industrial field is thus opened up to labor's interested inquiry.

The size of the task and the need for expert assistance is reflected in the open letter issued by the A. F. of L. international presidents on December 13th last:

To promote further the production of an adequate supply of the world's needs for use and higher standards of life we urge that there be established cooperation between the scientists of industry and the representatives of organized workers.

In even more specific fashion the same need was voiced by the Rock Island Arsenal employees in a letter written last summer to the Secretary of War:

It is our conviction more now than ever before, that before long the opportunity will be ripe to secure outside help in the form of competent management engineers and production experts to advise us as workers what we can do to help improve things, what the management can do and finally what we and the management can do jointly. We are not unaware of our limitations.

The profession of production engineering has fortunately come of age at a time when the public interest is held to be the master test of individual and collective action. But in so far as property on the one hand and organized labor on the other have interests of their own not shared by the general public, the art and science of industrial production will be for some time yet the more efficiently—certainly the more quickly—developed through the cooperation of engineers and other experts practicing a primary allegiance to one of the three contending factors—labor, capital or the public—rather than to all three. In the fields of industrial relations experts representing either side have relatively little trouble in reaching decisions acceptable to both sides. Discontent is almost sure to result from the findings of individuals attempting to represent interests which are not identical even though they may be mutual.

Certain branches of engineering are not as yet entirely on a factual basis. Policies both of public and of private interest still sway findings and

action. Thus valuation of municipal utilities, is a highly technical branch of engineering, and yet there are two distinct schools of thought and practice—the one representing the public interest and the other representing the private interests involved. Eminent engineers on the private side quite frequently fix a value on a street railroad, for instance, which is twice as high as that determined by equally eminent engineers representing the public. This ratio has been as high as five to one. Pending the time when the divergencies of principle have been reconciled prudent engineers usually elect to practice on one side or the other.

Hence it will be well—and altogether in accord with good engineering practice—if labor should plan to retain its own production engineers and other technicians whose scientific knowledge will be required for the development of a better ordered industry. Those of us who seek first the public interest in these matters as well as the industrial experts retained by the ownership of industry will thus be in a position to counsel with informed representatives of labor. The halting character of our progress in building up a democratic and efficient industry is largely due to the fact that the specialists are all on one side. Labor under these circumstances must necessarily step with caution in the light of past history. Every labor organization, no matter what the common or varying views of its membership on social or political matters should undoubtedly have a division specializing on production and labor's participation in it. While the development of the productive technique of a given industry and the organization of the workers in that industry are two distinct problems the development of each of them is measurably dependent on the development of the other.

There are without doubt some employers in almost every industry who can easily be led to play a constructive part in any such cooperative campaign to work out the most effective technique possible. Some employers may even be willing to go further and to share completely with labor the discussion of the complexities and perplexities inherent in all industrial enterprise. As a group employers will naturally feel that when the workers do take a more active interest in methods and when they share, to some extent at least, in the responsibility for results, the workers will come to have more respect for the function of administration, management and planning as contrasted with performing the actual work on the product.

The major motif of industry is to turn out useful goods. Production in ever increasing measure affords the moral basis for industry. Therefore



the labor movement will not achieve its full stature until labor asserts its interest in everything that goes on in industry and assumes a share of responsibility for it. The world's bitter need affords labor its golden opportunity.

And in fact the immediate needs of labor insist that labor seize the opportunity. The employer can afford to await the results of an inevitable period of more or less acute depression; depression has always proven to be to the advantage of the employer and to the disadvantage of the workers. But the workers may turn disadvantage to advantage if they meet the approaching storm with a constructive productive policy. Otherwise there may be chaos.

MORRIS LLEWELLYN COOKE.

## Competition and the Nation's Milk

WHILE the western nations were impoverishing themselves during the war, poverty of the individuals comprising them was vastly lessened. In a world that was recklessly wasting its substance, millions found their individual well-being better served. England lived for years, it has been said, within seventy-two hours of starvation—and for the first time all its people had plenty to eat.

The 1917 vital statistics showed a drop of one-half in infant mortality. The doctors found it inexplicable till a brusque Scotch physician declared that for the first time the babies were all getting enough milk. True, there was less milk than in ordinary times; but the babies were getting theirs, because authority was attending to that detail. So the babies didn't have to die, and the fact that they lived was a social marvel in whose presence science surrendered and that required the extreme exertions of common sense for explanation.

The other day a number of executives of British cities petitioned the government to provide for national monopoly in gathering and distributing milk, to prevent waste and control prices. They thought if control when milk was scarce could keep the babies alive, it ought to do so when milk was plenty.

The prime minister said the government could not undertake a national monopoly; but, if any cities wanted to go into it as a municipal enterprise, the government would confer necessary powers on them. So the cities are now considering the proposal. Even before the war, that very plan was well on the way to adoption in our own national capital, Washington.

Shortly after the war started in Europe, Washington confronted one of the recurrent crises in milk supply that almost every city has experienced. The farmers were being paid so little that they could not afford to go on producing. They organized the Maryland and Virginia Milk Producers' Association and the present writer, as chairman of its executive committee, prepared a report which argued that producers could gain nothing by "striking" for a better price and refusing to ship milk till they got it. They would alienate public sympathy, while the city milk dealers would unite and ship in milk from long distances, insuring failure of a strike.

A survey was made of available data on costs of producing milk, and prices paid for it. Cost of distribution was then, and still is, about equal to cost of production. Milk cost the distributors about 4.75 cents per quart, yearly average; the consumer paid 9 cents. About 65 dealers supplied the city, by a wasteful process of duplicating storage, pasteurizing, cooling and delivery plants; in some apartment houses substantially every tenant was served by a different dealer. On one city block, 17 milk wagons were counted one morning, each serving one to three customers. Farmers could give no worth-while figures on producing costs, and dealers were indisposed to analyze their expenses and expose the details to competitors. Competitive conditions made it impossible to enforce proper care of bottles. One dealer said losses, breakage, etc., had represented about \$7,000 per year on a daily distribution of 1,900 gallons. Others said these were representative figures. Washington was paying about \$120,000 annually for milk bottles! A public service monopoly, enforcing penalties as gas, water and electric companies do, would save most of this. Under competition, the dealer attempting it would lose his trade to more lenient dealers.

We found that few farmers, and not nearly all dealers, were making profits; that, in short, "the milk business was the most wastefully, improvidently, inefficiently conducted in the country."

Milk is a difficult product to handle because there must be a fairly uniform distribution at all seasons, while the largest production is in April, May and June. There was testimony of considerable quantities of milk going to waste at seasons when supply exceeded demands. Small dealers could not afford manufacturing plants to convert their surplus into butter, cheese, condensed or powdered milk. Under centralized control, the single distributor would utilize the surplus at all times.

Milk is perhaps the most necessary single ar-



ticle of food. Even at current prices it is also one of the cheapest. A quart of milk is in food value equal to three-quarters of a pound of beef, eight eggs, two pounds of chicken, or three-fifths of a pound of ham. Yet at times a ton of hay has been worth as much as a ton of milk!

Theoretically, the different demands for milk compete with each other. This country possesses one dairy cow for every five people. Each cow must supply her five human clients with milk, butter, cheese, condensed and powdered milk, ice cream, and veal. Of 84,611,000,000 pounds of milk produced in 1917, 41 per cent went into butter, 5 per cent to cheese, 2.9 per cent to condensed milk, 3.7 per cent to ice cream, 4.3 per cent to feeding calves, and 43.1 per cent was consumed as milk.

The theory of competition among the various demands for milk, and of its effect in maintaining prices, is more attractive than the facts of the milk producer's experience. The eastern dairy region, New York, New England and Pennsylvania, is dominated by the demand for milk in cities, but also largely produces cheese, butter, etc. There is very real competition among the different uses, but direct consumption dominates the market. On the other hand, the Wisconsin dairy region is dominated by the demand for milk for butter and cheese; in the far northwest, the manufacture of condensed and powdered milk controls.

In all regions milk producers insist that they get too little for their milk, and consumers that they pay too much. The most wasteful conditions prevail in small cities and towns, because small surpluses do not warrant maintaining manufacturing plants.

The spring surplus largely provides the year's milk products. These are comparatively non-perishable, and the demand for them, at reasonable prices, would always absorb any possible production. There would never be any waste of milk, if, through unified collection and distribution, the surpluses were aggregated and turned into products. The tendency where there is real competition between requirement for human consumption, and for the factory, favors the latter. So there is an increasing proportionate consumption of condensed and powdered milk; and, for the same reason, in Iowa, one of the largest milk-producing states, there is inadequate milk supply for the towns.

Economics of dairy farming are so badly organized that there has never been agreement whether milk is more profitable as the chief product of the farm, or as an incidental. In New York, the greatest dairy state, in 1917, the average number of cows per farm was under 7. In the Illinois dairy

section in 1912, the average was 26. New York had about 1,500,000 cows, so it appears that production is by extremely small units. On the other hand, distribution in New York City tends to close control. A recent report credits the Borden's Farm Products Company with 55 per cent of milk distribution, and the Sheffield Farm Products Company with 35 per cent. To enforce living prices, the producers have organized the New York Dairymen's League, which controls the sales of about 90 per cent of the milk sent to New York City.

Monopoly is notoriously the instrument of both efficiency and oppression. Too frequently the ability to oppress is more effectively employed than the opportunity for efficiency. So there has been for years, a contest between producers and distributors in almost every city. The distributors charge that organizations of producers such as control the milk of New York, Chicago, Washington and many other cities, violate the laws against monopoly. The producers charge the same thing against the efforts of the distributors to agree on prices and consolidate distribution. A Committee of the New York legislature found that one New York distributing concern expended nearly \$200,000 in a year to stifle competition. Of course, the consumers paid the bill. Would they not prefer a public monopoly that while costing them nothing would reduce the price of their milk?

Out of the struggle between producer and distributor has emerged the familiar phenomenon of both sides taking all they can get, and passing the increased cost on to the consumer. One big distributing company in New York City earned 51½ per cent on its capital in 1918. The average price paid to the producers for milk increased 137 per cent in a typical eastern city from 1914 to 1918. In Washington, George M. Oyster & Co. handle about 25 per cent of milk distribution. Testimony before a Senate Committee shows that the Company's capital is about \$300,000; in 1918 profits were \$107,298.83. For 1914, 1915 and 1916, average cost of milk was 21 cents per gallon, average retail price, 10 cents per quart. From October 1, 1918, to September 30, 1919, average cost was 41 cents per gallon, average retail price 16 cents per quart.

Doctor Royal S. Copeland, New York City Health Commissioner, recently said that city ought to consume 1,000,000 quarts more of milk daily. Yet at that very time it was charged that hundreds of thousands of gallons of milk were destroyed daily to prevent lower prices; and one of the great distributors was sending producers this notice: "All dairymen are urged not to increase their pro-



duction of milk, and, if possible, to decrease it." At that time, early spring of 1920, there was reported a daily surplus of 2,500,000 quarts in the New York producing area.

New York legislative committees are not regarded by followers of the Lusk investigation and the socialists' trial, as violently radical. Note, then, this statement of one of them:

Under present competitive conditions it takes almost as many men to bring the dairyman's milk to the consumer as there are dairymen engaged in the production of milk, with all their employees. This is the result of the purely competitive basis upon which the business is handled.

It is believed that a department equipped with all the power permitted by our state laws should be created, having the capacity to thoroughly analyze and comprehend the present situation, and having realized and comprehended it, to provide ways and means to consolidate this service not only in New York, but in every city in the state.

This New York situation is typical. The producers had 2,500,000 more quarts than the market would absorb without lowering prices. The city needed 1,000,000 more quarts, but instead of reducing the price and enabling the city to take it, the monopoly of producers and the monopoly of distributors were uniting to reduce production, and even destroyed quantities of milk. Bifurcated monopoly, however successful in increasing the producers' price and the distributors' profit, failed to get the milk to the people. Consequently, just as the British municipal executives wanted a government milk monopoly, so the district attorney for New York, Mr. Swann, proposed a municipal incursion into the milk business, and the Commissioner of Markets, Edwin J. O'Malley, promptly agreed.

Conditions such as these constantly cause inquiry whether the purpose of production is the profit of producer and distributor, or the consumer's privilege to consume. If, despite laws against monopolies, the milk producers have established one monopoly and the milk distributors have set up another; and if the cooperation of these two monopolies produces for the public only waste, short supplies and excessive prices, is it remarkable if the public declares a plague on both and proposes a complete public monopoly, to prevent waste, insure the people their milk, and reduce prices?

British and American experience agree that if wasteful competition continues the supply of milk must fall off dangerously. Milk famines, even before the war, were frequent afflictions of cities. Farmers were advised to quit milk and raise more profitable crops; and they were taking the advice. To insure milk in necessary quantities demands

elimination of excessive profits, duplicated services, and especially the wicked destruction of milk.

In order that a distributor in New York may earn 51 per cent, and one in Washington 35 per cent, milk consumers in New York and Washington pay more than twice what the producer gets, and the producer gets more than twice his 1914 price. The British municipal executives, and District Attorney Swann are strictly in line with the thought of people who are seriously thinking of these questions. When Mr. Swann proposed that New York go into milk distribution in order to save the 2,500,000 quarts daily surplus and reduce the price, an official of the Sheffield Farms Company characterized the plan as "amateurish," and demanded to know "how it would be possible to pasteurize the milk under such an arrangement and to comply otherwise with the health regulations. The milk," he proceeded, "must come from healthy cows, milked and handled in a sanitary manner. It must be cooled below 50 degrees within two hours of milking. It must be distributed in sterile containers and properly labeled, thus guaranteeing the conditions."

Precisely why could not New York or any other city pasteurize, bottle and distribute milk! They told us in Washington that this was unthinkable. We replied that a municipal monopoly would certainly have more sense than to use a dozen delivery wagons to serve a single block of dwellings; that the city had taken over from private contractors the collection of its garbage, and saved money; that it was planning to instal a garbage reduction plant to recover the immense values in the garbage; and that if it was worth while to economize in garbage, it ought to be worth while to economize in milk. We pointed out that the city-owned waterworks was the only public utility of which there was never serious complaint. The District of Columbia commissioners emphatically indorsed our municipal dairy program.

Since that time, in many countries and cities, milk supplies and distribution have been taken under public control to the public's great advantage. If the war demonstrated anything, it is that uncontrolled private business would rather be profitable than patriotic. Since the war, prices have continued to advance, and profiteering has increased. We recently examined the facts as to shoes, and have here attempted to outline those as to milk. In both cases the lesson seems to be that uncontrolled, private, profit-inspired business under a suspended law of supply and demand means failure to supply the demand at prices at which the public can afford to consume.

JUDSON C. WELLIVER.



# A Close-up of Shantung

ON the morning of February 6th, the *Hanamet*, an American vessel, arrived at the quarantine station of Tsingtao, chief port of Shantung. After making his inspection, the port doctor authorized the quarantine flag to be hauled down, but the steamer could not enter the inner harbor immediately because her berth was not vacant. Having been given permission by the doctor, Captain Lennox, a British subject, went ashore in his own gig to see the owners of the vessel, returning about an hour later. On February 9th, Japanese police officers boarded the vessel and demanded that Captain Lennox and the Chinese chief steward, Lin Shun Sheng, accompany them to the police station, thus making an arrest upon an American ship. At the police station Captain Lennox was charged with having violated harbor regulations by landing without permission while his ship was in quarantine. He was not provided with a competent interpreter, and his request that the British consular representative be sent for was entirely ignored. Questioned for several hours, he was finally compelled to pay a fine of nineteen silver yen and to sign a document written in Japanese which was not translated to him. He was detained as a prisoner for several hours even after he had paid the fine.

In the meantime the chief steward was also being subjected to examination. Accused of having opium in his possession, he was severely beaten and kicked, besides undergoing the torture of having cold water forced down his throat. After several hours of ill-treatment, he was eventually released.

An investigation of this incident, the present account of which was condensed from a report by the British consul, brought to light a very remarkable set of regulations concerning the powers of the Japanese garrison at Tsingtao. The translation made for the consulate by Mr. G. Ito reads as follows:

Article 1. Any officer or non-commissioned officer of gendarmerie under the Army Headquarters of the Tsingtao Garrison can give a summary decision in respect to the following criminal offenses in the Occupied Territory under the Garrison of Tsingtao:

1. Any offense punishable by detention or fine where the detention does not exceed thirty days, or the fine does not exceed twenty yen, or the offense is punishable by confiscation.

2. Any offense committed by a Chinese or Korean where the punishment is detention not exceeding sixty days, a fine not exceeding fifty yen, a beating not ex-

ceeding thirty blows, penal servitude not exceeding sixty days or banishment not exceeding two years.

Article 2. Summary conviction does not require a formal trial, and sentence shall be given immediately after hearing the statement of the defendant and examining the evidence. Sentence may be communicated immediately to the accused or may be sent to his residence without summoning him to the court, and if summoned to the court, sentence may be pronounced without his being present in the court.

Article 3. The following points shall be stated in a sentence of summary conviction:

Name, age, rank, residence and profession of the defendant; place, date and nature of crime and penalty; rank and name of officer giving sentence, and date thereof.

Article 4. In case of summary conviction, the defendant cannot apply for a formal trial.

Stand back just a moment, ladies and gentlemen, so that the full glories of this legal masterpiece may burst upon you. Note that any commissioned or non-commissioned officer of the Japanese garrison has power to arrest and sentence any person without the pretense of a hearing and that the defendant, being convicted, cannot apply for a formal trial! Note that a Japanese corporal or sergeant is permitted to sentence a Chinese or Korean—the combination is significant—to banishment for two years; a beating of thirty blows—and only one who has visited mission hospitals in Korea can realize what this means; imprisonment for sixty days; or a fine of fifty yen! Note, too, that the soldier who acts as judge, jury and prosecutor has full power of confiscation, and that it is not necessary to pronounce sentence in the presence of the defendant. Truly, it is quite enough to make the gentleman who designed the lion's mouth in Venice turn over so heavily as to disturb the marble angel on his sepulchre. No wonder that the foreign officials of Tsingtao receive communications from Chinese asking that the League of Nations send the Prussians back to Shantung! Remember, also, that these regulations were not framed merely to put the fear of the Japanese uniform into Chinese hearts. They apply, with lesser penalties, to foreigners, as illustrated by the arbitrary arrest and conviction of Captain Lennox. The police summary trial is an old friend in Korea, but its Shantung version adds a few frills which are strangers even to that much-harassed peninsula. Evidently Japan is preparing another candidate for the bad government prize of the world.



Many other occurrences in Tsingtao have a decidedly Korean flavor. Dr. C. E. Scott, Presbyterian missionary formerly stationed at Tsingtao and now working at Tsinnanfu, describes the closing of a foreign hospital and a mission school. "The Japanese government took steps to reduce the resident doctors from two to one and the nurses from four to one," Dr. Scott declares. "In addition, an arbitrary tax of six hundred dollars a year was imposed upon the institution, the idea being to force the hospital to close so that the Japanese might take over the plant, as they had already taken over the big German military hospital. To make the pressure more annoying, the Japanese planted families on the right and left of the hospital. These families had packs of wolfhounds that bayed, snarled and fought at all hours of the day and night, making it impossible for doctors, patients, or attendants to sleep. Across a narrow street in front, a brothel was planted, the noise from which continued all night long. Formal protests to the highest officials were unavailing; even protests by the American consul resident at Tsingtao were entirely disregarded when he pleaded for quiet for the American consul at Tsinnanfu, who was ill at the hospital. Yet the bell of a Christian church at a considerable distance from the Japanese military hospital was not allowed to be rung once a week to summon worshippers to service, as the Japanese doctors said that the noise would disturb their patients."

Another accusation brought by Dr. Scott against the Japanese authorities concerns the establishment of a red-light district across the street from the Presbyterian compound. That this location was deliberately chosen is proved, he says, by the fact it was necessary to fill in swampy land at great expense in order to put up the buildings, whereas there were many sites in other parts of the city where the difficulty could have been avoided. "When the district was completed, beautiful invitation cards were sent to all the foreigners in the city with the exception of the consuls and the missionaries," Dr. Scott states. "The entire Japanese population, including officials in gala uniforms, turned out for a three days opening. During this time the people of the mission were face to face with a little hell on earth. The disorder was greatly increased by the free distribution of sake. As a crowning insult to the American population one of the brothels bore an English name, 'The White House.'"

"Japanese in uniform have repeatedly stated in the hearing of foreigners that there are too many American missionaries in Shantung." After invading the Presbyterian boys' school on many oc-

casions and subjecting the missionaries to minute questioning, the entire teaching staff—including American men and women and Chinese co-workers—were summoned by the Japanese police to answer to charges of seditious activity. The school was closed and the Chinese teachers banished. Missionaries arriving from the interior were forbidden to go to the compound, the self-supporting native church was broken up, and Chinese evangelists conducting Women's Bible classes were placed under arrest.

In Tsinanfu, the capital of the province, the Japanese prefer to work quietly. There have been no open clashes with the Chinese, and Dr. Neal, president of the Shantung Christian University, states that, with the exception of writing a few bitter editorials, the Japanese have made no effort to use their influence against the missionaries. In fact, a Japanese general recently visited the institution and expressed his approval of its work. The treaty grants the Japanese no unusual rights in the city, except at the depot of the Tsingtao-Tsinanfu railroad, but the work of colonization is going on apace. Conservative estimates place the Japanese population at 2,500. The Japanese consulate, hospital, and school are among the most pretentious buildings in Tsinanfu. In direct contradiction to their treaty rights, the Japanese built barracks for a force of four hundred soldiers, and then had the effrontery to invite the Chinese military and civil governors to the opening exercises. The governors refused to lose face by witnessing the public humiliation of their province, but the ceremonies took place anyway and the soldiers have remained. In the military compound stands the great wireless plant which is in constant communication with Tokyo and which towers over the city like a sinister symbol. Japanese colonists have captured a large share of Tsinan's retail business, besides opening a flour mill, a match factory, and three pretentious plants for the preparation of dried eggs—a product which is exported to America. The building of the match factory caused loud protest from a Chinese factory which had been given by the Peking government a monopoly on the match business within a radius of 300 li. The Chinese sent petitions to the ministers of agriculture, commerce, and foreign affairs, declaring that Tsinanfu is not a treaty port and that the Japanese have no right to ignore the monopoly. Just what answers they have received is not known, but the Japanese match factory continues to do business at its new stand without registering any interest in the edicts of the Peking government. Most of the land secured by the Japanese in Tsinanfu has been leased for a thirty year term. The property on which the con-



sulate stands, however, was formerly used by Japanese tennis players, with the tacit consent of the Chinese authorities who regarded it as public land owned by the provincial government. One pleasant day the Japanese cleared away the tennis courts and proceeded to erect buildings without going through the formality of asking permission or securing any sort of title. They have claimed since that property was given to them by a former official of Shantung who conveniently died in the meantime and is, therefore, of not much use as a witness. Despite many requests from the local authorities, they have failed thus far to produce any documentary proofs of the defunct official's generosity.

The most pernicious activity of the Japanese in Tsinanfu centers around the many dusty little shops which bear the label of drug-stores. Students from the Shantung Christian University, in the course of a recent investigation, purchased opium at ninety of these stores, all but a scant dozen of which were conducted openly by Japanese. The International Anti-Opium Association discovered 52 Japanese dealers, besides 500,000 opium pellets of Japanese make. Chinese who deal in opium are severely punished, but the provincial authorities have no power to reach the Japanese vendors. Petition after petition has gone to the Japanese consul, asking him to prevent his countrymen from demoralizing the people of Tsinanfu. The traffic, however, continues to increase, and the fact that the Chinese customs officials no longer have any jurisdiction in Tsingtao makes the importation of opium an easy and profitable business.

In every newspaper of Shantung under Japanese influence appear articles and editorials passionately disavowing any object except that of China's own good. "Anybody with intelligence knows that Japan has no evil intentions towards China," declares the Tsingtao Seito Shimpō, "the actions of Japan are, in fact, that very righteousness and humanity so loudly proclaimed by Mr. Wilson, the alleged saviour of the world." An announcement that the Japanese Foreign Office has proposed to return Japan's share of the Boxer indemnity and that it will do its utmost to persuade the other Allied Powers to take similar action has been given wide publicity in the Shantung press. But Japan's trump card is apparently the bonds of race. Again and again she stresses racial appeal, trying to arouse a form of patriotism that will cause the Chinese to resent interference from Europe or America. The claim that Japan, and only Japan, is capable of understanding China, appears with monotonous insistence in editorials and proclamations.

"Sooner or later the two governments of China and Japan must consult on the most suitable means for meeting the Shantung situation, because of the relationship of common race and in order that other nations may not interfere in the matter," says the Jih Pao, a Japanese-owned newspaper published at Tsinanfu. "The power of Europe and America is gradually growing over the yellow race. We fear that there is something in the future too horrible to conceive or imagine. Perhaps the two governments have already planned for this. If they can work out a perfect method of procedure so as to meet this trouble, then Americans will have no chance to play their false hands and the grievous misunderstandings between China and Japan will be dissolved. This will be for the good of all Asiatic governments. If they do not do so, then the yellow brothers will destroy each other while the white race sits quietly by and gains the reward. This is what the Asiatic people are not willing to realize. The proverb says, 'When the oyster-catcher and the oyster grip each other, the fisherman gets the benefit.' We hope that the governments of China and Japan will read this over and ponder deeply upon it."

Is Japan right in thinking that the call of race is strong enough to drown out the demands for justice?

Can she appropriate mines, inflict arbitrary punishment, and insult governors with the calm assurance that she will be forgiven later on because her skin matches that of her victim? Perhaps she can. Who of the west is competent to estimate the strength of an Oriental race appeal?

And in the meantime the great wireless station in the capital of Shantung sends out its daily messages to Tokyo, the dusty little drug-stores continue to do a flourishing business, and stone barracks which hint at more than temporary occupation are lining the railroad from Tsingtao to Tsinanfu.

ELSIE McCORMICK.

## City Rain

When all my lonely window pane  
Is marshalled with the shouting rain  
And squalid roofs of shining tin  
Grin at the shower and drink it in,  
And all the boulevards are sheets  
Of glist'ning street-lamp stars, and walls  
Are wobbly with gay waterfalls;  
When noises wander in the gloom  
Like dragged cats who find no room  
To dry their fur in; that's the time  
When every straight-cut edge and line  
Gives up its cruelty; the stain  
Of day is scrubbed off by the rain.

R. V. A. SHELDON.



## A COMMUNICATION

### Responsibility of the Senate Majority

**SIR:** A great deal has been said during the last few months about the responsibility for the outcome at Paris and for the failure of the United States to function in international affairs. And much that has been said has not been worthy of the attention of a serious mind. Mr. Keynes has sought to make of the President a gullible Presbyterian provincial. Mr. William Hard, with delightful superficiality, seeks to make heroes of the irreconcilable fourteen of the Senate. And scores of others have had a hand in the writing of denunciations or in attempted pilloryings of scape-goats. I may as well have a say when so much is said without evidence of thought.

The responsibility is plainly upon the people of the country, not upon the President. This is the first consideration men might as well get into their heads. The last congressional election was conducted by the Republicans simply upon the issue of discrediting the President, his fourteen points and his supposed "soft peace." Let anybody who doubts this read the speeches of the leaders, the editorials of the dominant papers, and consider the Truman H. Newberry campaign in Michigan. The President was thought to be moderate in his attitude toward Germany. His fourteen points were supposed to squint at free trade and an abandonment of the Monroe doctrine as an imperialist cover for American exploitation of weaker neighbors. It was plain to all who observed that campaign that if a majority were returned to the congress opposed to the President, the whole liberal programme of Wilson would be jeopardized. Because of this the President asked the country to return Democratic representatives. The appeal may have been phrased badly; but the appeal itself was highly necessary, if the country were to be continued in its course of moderate international liberalism. The country, having all the facts before it and knowing well the record of the reactionary, or majority, wing of the Republican party, deliberately returned a majority of the representatives of that party to office. The people thus announced to the world and confessed to itself that it did not approve the fourteen points or the so-called soft peace. It would have something else than the fourteen points; and it would, like England and France, pick the bones of Germany.

Nor can any leader of any European country, like Pétain, for example, claim that there was any misunderstanding on that side of the ocean. British and French papers everywhere declared in bold headlines that Wilson was broken at home and that the Allies would, therefore, not be barred by Wilson from having their vengeance, the hardest peace that could be put upon the Central Powers. That was the talk of every cabinet circle in Europe. Poor Germany even manifested the folly of rejoicing at the discomfiture of the only possible friend she could have at the peace table, just as some Southerners in 1865 failed to weep at the death of Lincoln, their only powerful friend in the North. So much for the election and the clear case of a country growing tired of being good too long.

When the election returns were all in, it became plain that the Senate could not be organized against Wilson except upon the margin of a single vote. There was one

Senator-elect whose case was by no means a good one. Everybody knew that Truman H. Newberry and his campaign managers had violated both federal and state laws and that being known far and near, the precedents of history warned against seating the Senator with a doubtful claim. But the Republicans could not organize the Senate or control the all-important Foreign Relations Committee without Newberry's vote. Johnson, who had joined Roosevelt in a holy war upon Taft in 1912 because Taft's friends used strong-arm methods to control a national convention, now joined Lodge in voting to seat Newberry. Members of the Senate paid no heed to Henry Ford's protest, Henry Ford, the pacifist!

But stranger still to some people, LaFollette, the pacifist, recently threatened by Lodge and his colleagues with expulsion for the exercise of freedom of speech, joined Lodge and Johnson in sustaining the claims of the Michigan corruptionist, and gave the one man they must have his seat in the Senate. This performance enabled Lodge, Borah, Johnson and LaFollette so to fix the Committee on Foreign Relations that the whole weight of the Senate could be wielded against the fourteen points and whatever else the reactionary group in the Senate regarded as "dangerous to the liberties" of the United States. The public looked on at this political juggling, if nothing worse, and made only feeble protest. The breaking of Woodrow Wilson was what was aimed at, the undoing of "foolish" income tax laws and the saving of the world from a "soft peace." When we appraise the events and the leaders of 1918 and 1919, we can not leave all this out of account. It is a matter of notorious record, boasted of by the very men who now say that Wilson basely surrendered his fourteen points at Paris. The omniscient Mr. Keynes knows nothing of these facts, in his unjust and angry arraignment of Wilson for the major wrongs done at Paris, or he knows only enough to condemn the President.

The people having taken this turn at a great crisis in world history and the Senate having staged things for the breaking of the only President the country could have before March, 1921, Wilson went to Paris to win, in spite of untoward events in every country whose fortunes were seriously at stake, a peace in accordance with the fourteen points and the plain terms of the armistice. All the world looked on. The dominant American press jeered every day. The liberal journals lent him grudging support. One of them went so far as to say in solemn fashion that the President's reception in London was "a frost." The first great public test came when the Monroe doctrine was under discussion in Paris. Wilson wished not to have the subject mentioned, wished to make that much of a contribution to the cause of international good feeling. The Senate leaders made a violent outcry. The Monroe doctrine, as everybody knows, has long been a pretext for American domination of weak countries. There is not a South American country that does not hate the very name of Monroe. When Wilson was compelled to ask for a reservation of the doctrine he lost his strong position. He was asking for the same kind of thing that England asked when she insisted that she must have and ever retain the greatest navy in the world—he was asking that the United States be permitted to domineer her weaker neighbors, if



she chose to do so. But the people demanded that he yield on this point. At least the leaders of public opinion seemed to think so. A cardinal of the church, an ex-President who thought himself a friend of international peace, and even Mr. Bryan cabled the President to yield. Have the liberal journals and the angry British critics of the President ever recognized or acknowledged what was then done?

But when the Treaty was finally laid before the Senate, the majority, always depending upon the vote of Mr. Newberry, now under judicial sentence, set about its work. One member of the Committee on Foreign Relations is reported to have said in the presence of several people at a dinner table in Washington that, if the President were to die, the Treaty and the League would be adopted without an amendment or a serious reservation. Why not? It was not a question of the justice of the work at Paris. It was simply a question of breaking a President of the United States. Any student of our history knows this to be true; he knows also that similar performances have been enacted in the Senate.

When Abraham Lincoln published his plan of reconstruction in the spring of 1865, he met with the same resistance. The stage was set for a similar war upon the President. The reason of the war was that Lincoln proposed a liberal peace, a "soft peace." Popular opinion did not favor a liberal peace. Only a wise leader deeply trusted could then have saved the country from the awful reconstruction that was carried through—a worse peace than that which has been laid upon Germany. For the South was compelled to part with private property assessed in 1860 at two or more billions. It was compelled to repudiate a debt owed to its own citizens amounting to two billions more. It was then compelled to assume its share of the Federal debt incurred in its own crushing defeat. Its most fertile districts had been wilfully laid waste by the marching of armies to and fro. Its estates were broken up as a consequence of the emancipation of the slaves. And a national tariff policy was laid that worked disastrously upon Southern industry till 1913. Never since the last Punic war has a people been purposely subjected to a more crushing peace than were the people of the South by the men who prepared in the spring of 1865 to break Abraham Lincoln and ruin his so-called "soft peace." I do not enter into a discussion here of the possibility of securing the results of the Civil War in any other than a cruel way. Perhaps what was done was the best thing. But it was not because it was a good policy that Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner drove their reconstruction programme through congress and forced it upon a defeated foe at the point of the bayonet. It was because Sumner and Stevens and their allies hated the Southerners far more bitterly than Americans have ever hated Germany, than any other of the European peoples, except the French, have hated the Germans.

In order to carry this policy the leaders of the Senate in 1867-9 bribed some of its members, declared seats vacant that were not vacant and suborned witnesses to swear to obviously false statements. It was the great day of Senatorial power. And President Johnson was impeached, although not convicted. The motive was hatred of the South. It was also a terrible fear that some of the money profits of the war would be lost if Southern delegates were seated in congress. It was a great and terrible struggle in which little thought was taken of the justice of the results.

The men who had the guidance of congress in those days

and years are no longer counted worthy of praise in American history. Not a historian of reputation in the country now ventures approval of their motives or their conduct. The people of the country as a whole regard reconstruction as one of those blunders that are worse than crimes. They do not like to remember the facts. They are ashamed of the facts. This is a terrible indictment. It is quite as much an indictment of the majority of the people of 1866 as it is of Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner, the instruments of the popular folly and anger. In times of great excitement the masses of men seem unequal to wise determination of great policy. In 1865 there was a wise man who set up a better, if not a good, reconstruction programme. It can not be said that Lincoln's plan was a "soft peace." It was, however, not a vindictive settlement, and under it the broken South might have recovered before 1920!

Have we not been through a similar period? Was not Wilson's programme the only one that could have given peace to an angry and broken world? But public opinion would not have him try a peace of conciliation. Its leaders chose to break Wilson. And during the last two years they have behaved in the same spirit that characterized the leaders of 1865-69. Of course they do not recognize the fact. But historians will be compelled to recognize the facts. I venture the opinion that before ten years shall have passed Lodge, LaFollette, Borah, Johnson and the rest will be regarded by historians in much the same light as Stevens and Sumner. And within twenty years there will not be a historian who will defend their conduct. The whole world will read the earnest words of Wilson as the world now reads the kindly phrases of Abraham Lincoln in his second inaugural when he said, let us heal the wounds of the war, let us hold malice toward none, let us love one another. If that proves to be the case, what shall be the honors of the "irreconcilables" of 1919? Few of us could wish any leader such a place in history as they must have prepared for themselves. Twenty years from now no man will boast of being their descendants.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

Chicago, Illinois.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### Professor Clark Defends the Stock Dividend Decision

SIR: By all means let us have "an alert and informed public opinion" as to the work of the United States Supreme Court. I wonder, however, if you feel that you have aided in informing such public opinion by a superficial reference to the stock dividend decision. It seems to me your review only serves to gloss over the difficulties inherent in a system of taxation which must turn on a definition of what is income.

Such definition is made necessary by the wording of the sixteenth amendment. When Congress was considering that amendment, it was urged to submit a provision eliminating all constitutional restrictions upon the levying of direct taxes, and that would seem to have been the statesmanlike course to follow. Congress, however, insisted upon retaining such restrictions except as to taxes upon incomes from whatever sources levied. If a constitutional provision is to have any restrictive force at all, a tax upon



what is not fairly income is without the purview of the amendment. I realize the agitation for unrestricted power of construction by legislative bodies of constitutional provisions, but I do not understand that you have favored such a course which amounts to a discarding of a written constitution.

If it is then necessary to ascertain whether issues of stock called stock "dividends" are really incomes, the Court would seem not unduly "metaphysical" in resorting to its own previous discussion of the nature of stock dividends which was open to Congress long before the amendment was proposed, or in attempting a definition of income which as applied in the case accords with the most approved views of economists. Perhaps also the Court should resort to intuition as to the beliefs of "most people," bearing in mind, nevertheless, how such beliefs may vary when reported by different observers. Even on this test I submit the Court was correct. The ordinary individual is able to draw a working distinction between his investments and his income. Is it not clearly so that he would unerringly classify a stock issue among his investments rather than as his income?

The intuition of Justice Holmes is pretty sure; it is true, and yet he must be wrong in his basic guess that the amendment was designed to get rid of nice questions as to direct taxes, since that was just the course Congress did not choose to follow. This error has, I believe, colored his guess as to the view of "most people not lawyers."

It is no answer to say that a corporation may decide whether to issue a stock dividend or to pay a cash dividend while taking subscriptions for an additional stock issue, since the realization of income must necessarily be a matter of individual volition. A person owns a house which is generally believed to have appreciated in value. Has he any income subject to taxation until in the exercise of his own volition he converts the house into money or money's worth so that the amount of his gain may actually be measured?

Fears as to the great loss in revenue to the government from the decision fail to note the Court's view that gains on sale of the stock will be taxable as income to the seller. This point had previously been questioned and if it now may be considered settled, means a wholly desirable step in advance. This being so there is even a chance for the government, in certain cases, to gain by the decision. Assume a person receives a stock dividend from a corporation whose stock is increasing in value and a year or so thereafter he sells his stock. Taxing the stock dividend would divide the tax over two years, while taxing only the gain on sale throws all the tax into one year and this may raise the taxpayer's income in that year so that a higher surtax rate applies. Unless tax rates are to be lowered, it is hard to see how the government will lose in the long run unless the taxpayer holds the stock until he dies, and then taxes upon the privilege of succession may operate.

I have felt your criticisms of the sedition decisions to be entirely justified. So the present case may properly be criticised for the doubt which Justice Pitney unfortunately casts upon the validity of taxing the gains of personal service corporations as income to the stockholders. But I believe the decision itself to be necessary under all the circumstances. Its practical result in forcing Congress to differentiate between gains actually realized and unrealized speculative appreciations in value, is not entirely unfortunate. This, of course, does not mean that well reasoned arguments by those who believe otherwise are not highly

desirable both for the Court and for "public opinion." If, however, the real problems are submerged under derisive and sarcastic comment which fails to note what such problems are, neither the Court nor public opinion is aided.

CHARLES E. CLARK.

New Haven, Connecticut.

## Professor Corwin Does Likewise

SIR: You say, in your article entitled *The Supreme Court vs. The Supreme Court*, which appears in your issue of April 21st, "that the Supreme Court's power as the ultimate law giver puts too heavy a strain upon ordinary men." What is it that you propose to do—create some super-man on the spot? Or is it your idea that the matters falling within the Court's jurisdiction do not demand an ultimate law-giver?

You yourself admit, however, that the decision of the Court in the *Steel Trust* case did not represent the decision of an *ultimate* law-giver, but that the construction of the law upon which this decision rests is "remediable by future legislation." On the other hand, your criticism of the decision in the *Pierce* case implies that there is one field at least in which you would like the Court to extend its powers as ultimate law-giver very decidedly.

Your animadversions upon the "Stock Dividend Decision" invite several comments. Far from being very subtle, as you imply, that decision rests upon the very easily understood proposition that there is no essential difference between a corporate surplus against which a stock dividend has been issued, and one against which no such dividend has been issued, since in the latter case the stockholder benefits to approximately the same extent as he would in the former, by the increase in value of his original holdings.

In both cases alike, accordingly, the benefit is held to be not taxable till it is liquidated. Nor is there anything in this decision to imply that the government may not tax stock dividends by taxing the privilege of issuing them—its right to do which is clear on principle and analogy (See *Flint vs. Stone Tracy Co.*, 220 U. S.).

The Stock Dividend case is one of that class of cases which is always troubling courts—cases which fall so close to the line dividing the allowable from the unallowable that there is sure to be much honest difference of opinion as to their real location. Nevertheless, it is still true that the Court, far from ignoring what Justice Holmes asserts "was the known purpose" of the sixteenth amendment, "to get rid of nice questions as to what might be direct taxes," has rather done just the opposite. If anyone doubts this assertion, let him examine the decision in *Lynch vs. Hornby* (247 U. S.), in which the Court deliberately set aside in favor of Congress's power under the amendment the really fundamental distinction between augmentations of capital and current profits from the use of capital. The result was to confer on the government the virtual right to levy an increment tax, collectible, however, only at liquidation, and this is just what the government does by section 202 of the Act of 1918.

As I indicated above, the practical nub of your article is difficult to discover. Is it merely that the Court should not be regarded as "a sacred priesthood free from criticism?"

Of course it shouldn't. But perhaps it would be fair to exact of the critic something approaching the same



measure of intelligence and good faith that he demands of the Court. The fact is, that the Court has always been subject to criticism, and the further fact is that no part of the national government has, first and last, proved more responsive to the best thought of the country.

Princeton, New Jersey.

EDWARD S. CORWIN.

## The Editors' Answer

[ (1) We regret that we did not render more obvious the simple purpose we had in mind in reviewing a series of recent Supreme Court decisions, namely to recall the nature of the public issues that are involved in the important cases before the Supreme Court. The public, as well as the legal profession, is laboring too much under the conventional notion that public law is like private law, that the same process of "law-finding" is involved, that the same judicial qualities are demanded from Supreme Court Justices when deciding a constitutional question as those which suffice to settle the simple controversy of *Smith v. Jones*. We sought to illustrate by extracts from the opinions of the Court what every student of Constitutional Law knows—that public law at bottom means statesmanship. It is all the more important to insist upon this vital fact because the same set of men are administering the law between man and man, affecting their ordinary individual rights, and the law controlling the exercise of governmental power, the whole relation of man and state.

(2) Accepting the existing theory of American Constitutional Law, we believe the center of gravity of its administration lies in the equipment of the judges. Surely Professor Corwin submits too readily to limited alternatives in suggesting the only relief from "ordinary men" are "supermen." There is a third alternative, able men, men of the calibre of Marshall and Moody, Hughes and Holmes. The problem of our constitutional system is to secure men adequate for the greatness of the task that the Constitution imposes upon our judiciary, particularly the Supreme Court.

We touch here the crucial difficulty of our constitutional system: that its successful working demands men of extraordinary intellectual disinterestedness and penetration, lest limitations in personal experience and imagination be interpreted, however conscientiously or unconsciously, as constitutional limitations. When regard is had to the complexities of modern society, to the necessary specialization and narrowness of individual experience, the capacity for tolerance and objectivity in realizing and respecting the validity of the experience and abilities of others becomes one of the most dynamic factors in the disposition of concrete cases.

(3) We used the stock dividend decision merely as illustrative. We recognize that the determination of what ordinarily constitutes "income" is a technical subject. Of course there are technical grounds for supporting the decision. But that, we submit, misses the entire point. It leaves out of account the guiding consideration to all constitutional questions, Marshall's famous canon that "It is a Constitution we are expounding." The question before the Court was not whether a stock dividend is "income." That is a question as to which opinion is bound to differ, the opinion of legal scholars like Professor Clark as well as of economists. But that, we insist, was not the question before the Supreme Court. That way of putting the issue forgets the vital fact that Congress had expressed its judgment; and so the question before the Supreme Court was the very much narrower issue whether Congress in declar-

ing that a stock dividend is "income," within the purport of the eighteenth amendment, went outside its constitutional boundaries. Such an issue is not to be decided by technical niceties. Not we, but four Supreme Court Justices (and we need not balk at the fact that in the minority were the most experienced, the most powerful minds of the Court) held that by a technicality the judgment of Congress was nullified by the Supreme Court.

(4) Of course the Court has throughout its history been criticized—and particularly so since its decisions have touched the great economic and industrial forces. But does Professor Corwin think the Court is always right, and that criticism of it is out of place? At least he has not always thought so. The Court has always been criticized and it should always be criticized when narrow minds predominate and when the Court has taken too narrow a view of the Constitution. We merely sought to give present-day application to the point of view of that great student and lover of our Constitution, James Bradley Thayer: "Petty judicial interpretations have always been, are now, and always will be a very serious danger to the country." To avoid that "very serious danger" is a problem that demands constant alertness and the work of the Court, as at present constituted, does not make the danger seem any the less serious.—THE EDITORS.]

## Amazement

SIR: I have read with amazement the more than four columns of testimony given by C. R. J. (New Republic, May 5th) concerning Public Opinion in the Middle West, gathered he says, or may it be she, during a "two weeks trip through seven of the most important of the states of the Middle West" from "contact with university people—students and faculty—by the hundreds, with editors, ministers, workers and common laymen," whatever these last may be.

My amazement is two-fold. First, that in a couple of days to a state (I assume an equal division of the eventful fortnight to the seven states) any human being could gather so vast an amount of specific evidence from "hundreds." It is surely a remarkable instance of one who runs may read. But, perhaps he flew. And, second, as a professor on the Faculty of the State University of Indiana, I am amazed at the kind of talk, evidence of conditions and opinion, which your Marco Polo met with. The old saying "important if true" comes to mind, the point being that I am amazed at the seemingly innumerable startling utterances heard, no approximate parallel to any one of which have I known of, or do I believe to have been given or, if given, to have been true during the past two years at my particular State University, reasonably to be supposed as among C. R. J.'s seven. But as your gatherer and publisher of opinion has followed the safe rule of "naming no names no offense can be taken"; in other words, avoided citing one single place or person, he does, to say the least, greatly lighten the weight of his evidence—and the force of his uncommonly loose arguments.

Bloomington, Indiana.

ALFRED M. BROOKS.

## Reciprocal Amazement

SIR: Your correspondent's "amazement" does not, I assure you, exceed mine. My idea of university professors has always been that they were the essence of calm cold logic.



To find this one all innuendo and sarcasm and no argument is shocking. In so far as he descends from exclamation to concrete statement his animus appears to boil down to two primary propositions and one of incidental character.

First:—He is not prepared for the ruthless modern fact that one may travel through seven states in two weeks (seventeen days, it was, to be exact) and yet have time to talk. The only way to test this, I believe, is to try it. It is true that on this trip I did come in contact with about one thousand college and university students and about a hundred and forty-five instructors (approximately one-fifteenth and one-eighth of the total membership of each of these groups in the institutions I visited). I also talked with and listened to conversations among many other people in ways and places which I mentioned. One who is at all used to traveling knows that this can be done easily, especially if one plans his contacts. With dozens of laboring men, "drummers," students and teachers I talked quite intimately and received the benefit of their observations as well as my own. I must confess that the people I met were to some extent selected in the direction of liberalism, but this I admitted by implication in my article. I deeply regret that I cannot cite names and places as proof of my observations and quotations. When there is such a thing as academic freedom and when your correspondent and others of his kind have shown their alliance with the instructors, rather than with the forces which throttle them, by joining a union, anonymity will not be necessary.

Second:—Your correspondent doubts me because he has heard no "approximate parallel to any one" of "the seemingly innumerable startling utterances" reported by me. However much I may regret this, I cannot help it. I know other people with good intentions who have little contact with what is really going on in the world. If my critic reads the Indianapolis papers this isolation should be all the easier for him, for the only startling things in these dailies which I saw was what Mr. Palmer's office sent forth—much worse, by the way, than anything I found and, I think, much less true to the facts. If, as I suspect, your correspondent's wrath is due to the arousal of his instinct in defense of the purity of his university, I can gladly assure him that I found no taint or corruption there. I was not nearer to it than thirty miles.

To turn to the incidental (but apparently important) question raised by your correspondent, I shall have to decline to satisfy his curiosity as to my gender. That is a matter which I never discuss with strange men, however chivalrous to the "fair sex" they may ordinarily appear to be.

C. R. J.

## Disagreeing with Mr. Brailsford

SIR: The number of *The New Republic* dated March 10th, 1920, having, by chance, come in my possession, I have read Mr. Brailsford's article on Enforcing the Treaty. I should like to express the reactions of one who has been doing work in France for the past two years and who, at the same time, has had the opportunity of seeing rather closely France's needs as seen from the inner circle of the government.

Mr. Brailsford makes two statements, in particular, which are worthy of being pondered over. Speaking of the condition in which Germany is placed by the Treaty he says: "One cannot conceive the initial miracle of restarting industry and restoring currency under the handicap of these fantastic indemnities, these hampering tributes of coal, these

uncounted mortgages, which paralyze energy and ruin credit." And further, speaking of the French desire of seeing the Treaty enforced, we find this: "... Their (the French's) main concern is with the payment of the indemnity. They tell us that they intend (as Millerand says in every speech) to exact the last pfennig of money and the last ton of coal. That means that a numerous and once formidable people must be kept for a generation at forced labor..."

Let us take the first of these statements. From it we gather that it is impossible for a nation to begin over again her economic life if she pays the indemnities levied on Germany and if she gives up the coal which is demanded of her. That may be so, but there is another side to the question. If it is impossible for Germany to survive economically if she gives up the stated amount of money and coal, may it not be equally impossible for France to survive if she does not get it? France is in debt to her Allies to the point that one wonders how she can ever get out of it; her most productive industrial district has been *completely destroyed* during German occupation and evacuation; her coal mines have in great part been purposely ruined. While Germany has not had any of her manufactures destroyed; has not had her mines ruined and has borrowed little from other nations. Thus, in spite of the fact that war claims have been heavy upon her, she comes out of the struggle with a better economic situation than her neighbor across the Rhine. Consequently, it would seem that of the two countries she could stand the loss of money and coal better than France.

In the second statement we are told that the French people are firmly decided to exact "the last pfennig of money and the last ton of coal." And this decision is deplored because it means "that a numerous and once formidable people must be kept for a generation at forced labor." Though this is undoubtedly an exaggerated statement one is truly tempted to ask: "What if it does?" According to our system of justice those who have robbed, who have killed, who have destroyed, are made to restore, when it is possible, what they have taken and pay an indemnity when it can not be replaced. Criminals are also kept at hard labor. If we think it right for individuals, why is it considered, by Mr. Brailsford, such a shameful procedure when applied to nations?

France has already paid 25,000,000,000 francs out of her own pocket in widows' pensions, in orphans' pensions and in reparation in the devastated regions. That money should have been paid by the one who has caused the necessity for its being paid—not by the one who has suffered. And though these 25,000,000,000 francs have been paid matters now stand as if a drop of water had been poured in an empty bucket. Thousands of widows have not as yet what should be coming to them; countless orphans would go hungry if it were not for American help; as to the north of France, those who go back to find what were once their homes are put to harder labor, I am certain, than any one across the Rhine? Is it strange that France wishes to be paid?

I wish this letter could be published in the *New Republic*, for statements as fundamentally unfair as those made by Mr. Brailsford should not be allowed to pass without a word. They are just the kind of thing which is doing so much harm to the Franco-American relations on both sides. Those of us who love both nations are sorry to see such mistakes made.

SIMONE BRANGIER.

Paris, France.



## Books and Things

UNTIL I began to read *The Letters of Henry James* (two vols., Scribner's) my imagination had refused to do much with their writer except to see him as an observer, endlessly curious for his art's sake, of human relations, and as an artist whose anxiety to inspire us with a curiosity equal to his own took too elaborate precautions. Hence my absurd relief at finding here and there in his letters signs that he was not exempt from everyday life, that he once smoked a cigarette and did not look forward to smoking another, that he once composed a telegram only seventy words long about a fire in his house at Rye, that he, too, could sit in his shirt-sleeves on a hot day, could take prizes—for which he honored his gardener—at a flower show, could forget his pyjamas and ask to have them sent after him. In spite of knowing better I had made the mistake of assuming that his life must have lacked whatever his art most ignores. Hence my philistine amusement over these few details which illustrate his exposure to the common lot. While we read we come now and then, too, upon an illustration of something quite different, as when we find him writing to his brother William, in 1901: "We here, on our side, have been gathering close round the poor old dying and dead Queen, and are plunged in universal mourning tokens—which accounts for my black-edged paper." We have, unluckily, no means of knowing what William James thought about this black-edged token of his brother's nearness to being in at so august a death.

Those among us who love Henry James's novels and stories have been reading these letters, I suppose, partly with a hope of getting a clearer notion of his nearness to and his remoteness from experience. "I met Zola at luncheon the day before he left London," he writes to Stevenson in 1893, five years before Zola began to play his noble part in the Dreyfus affair, "and found him very sane and common and inexperienced. Nothing, literally nothing, has ever happened to him except to write the *Rougon-Macquart*." What, beyond the writing of his books, ever happened to Henry James? His life was chiefly, in a phrase of his own, "the wear and tear of discrimination," but what kind of material did life put under his microscope? "We must know, as much as possible, in our beautiful art, yours and mine," so he generously says in 1913 to Mr. Hugh Walpole, "what we are talking about—and the only way to know is to have lived and loved and cursed and floundered and enjoyed and suffered. I think I don't regret a single 'excess' of my responsive youth—I only regret, in my chilled age, certain occasions and possibilities I didn't embrace." Well, excess, even in quotation marks, is a relative term, and one suspects Henry James's standard of excess, like Wordsworth's "standard of intoxication" in the story, of being "deplorably low." Even if we grant that his youth, long choosing and beginning late, may dutifully have achieved an excess or two, we are still justified in guessing that excess brought him no adventure which as an artist he could turn to account.

"I am," he writes to Dr. White in March, 1914, "a votary of the single impression and the imperceptible adventure, picked up by accident and cherished, as it were, in secret." This description of himself is what we return to, after we have finished the letters, after we have had time to forget the degree in which these two volumes are

an altar to friendship. Whatever else did not happen to him, we say as we read, friendship certainly did. To his friends he was not remote, not aloof and shut up in his art. He was generously and imaginatively sympathetic. With him affection at its deepest was a passion. "So I give you," he writes to Miss Norton when William James was dying, "our dismal chronicle of suspense and pain. My own fears are the blackest, and at the prospect of losing my wonderful beloved brother out of the world in which, from as far back as in dimmest childhood, I have so yearningly always counted on him, I feel nothing but the abject weakness of grief and even terror." He sounds the same note a week later, in a letter to Mr. T. S. Perry: "I sit heavily stricken and in darkness—for from far back in dimmest childhood he had been my ideal Elder Brother, and I still, through all the years, saw in him, even as a small timorous boy yet, my protector, my backer, my authority and my pride. His extinction changes the face of life for me—besides the mere missing of the unspeakable vivid and beautiful presence of him."

Such words are for the high moments of life, for the utterance of grief at its intensest, but in expressing the other shades of affection, even the humorous and the playful, Henry James gave of himself as abundantly, although with less unreserve. His lighter devotions, his hails and farewells, are, I think, with all their variety, too uniformly elaborate. A letter which ends like this—"my dear Bruce Porter, ever so clingingly and constantly yours"—is nothing to shudder at, but a procession of letter-endings conceived in the same spirit show a failure to appreciate the convenience, as a short cut, of the handy stereotype.

Now and then I have had, while reading these letters, a slightly irritated sense that Henry James was pinning knots and ribbons on his correspondent's bosom, and then patting them, not unarchly, into place. "Dearest Edward," he writes from Chicago to Mr. Warren, "this is but a mere breathless blessing hurled at you, as it were, between trains and in ever so grateful joy in your brave double letter (of the lame hand, hero that you are!) which has just overtaken me here." The rule seems to be that the more playfully he writes the more extreme is his elaboration. "Well," he says in a letter dated from Rye, "it all sounds delightfully pastoral to one whose 'stable' consists but of the go-cart in which the gardener brings up the luggage of those of my visitors (from the station) who advance successfully to the *stage* of that question of transport; and my outhouses of the shed under which my solitary henchman (but sufficient to a draw-bridge that plays so easily up!) 'attends to the boots' of those confronted with the inevitable subsequent phase of early matutinal departure."

This elaborateness that I rather complain of seems, however, from one end of Henry James's life to the other, never to have been used as an escape from an obligation to say what he thought and felt. I wonder whether a more truthful man ever wrote letters in such abundance, whether any other man ever wrote to his friends so exactly as he wrote of them? A rare virtue, which he missed but once, and then by ever so little, when he speaks of Mr. H. G. Wells to Mr. Gosse with a thought more severity than he turns, charmingly courteous as always, upon Mr. Wells himself. In these volumes we find Henry James, with a poetic that grew narrower, that shut more and more doors and made more and more exclusions as he



grew older, writing about their books to the many novelists he knew well, writing always with the most critical frankness, almost indeed destroying upon one occasion a new novel by Mrs. Humphry Ward, and yet never, one feels, offending any of his correspondents, except possibly, and in this context negligibly, Mr. Wells. How much courtesy gains in persuasiveness when it comes from a man like Henry James, who had nothing ungenerous in his makeup, no jealousy or pettiness anywhere, and whose friendships were means to no end except friendship itself! His later friends, one guesses, were mostly chosen because in the possession of these intrinsic qualities they resembled the earlier friends he never forgot in this country, Howells, Charles Eliot Norton and the rest.

But in one sense friendship, although his life was rich and happy in it, cannot be counted as an adventure by which Henry James's art obviously profited. That his books are not rich in pictures of friendship, though the fact be plain enough, is not of course what one means. While reading the letters one looks for hints and tips, for glimpses among his many friends of some few who might have suggested to him the kind of men and women and the kind of human relations that he spent his later years in imagining. One seeks and does not find. Perhaps the explanation is that such men, such women, such relations do not exist, that profoundly true though they are to his own "originator's law" they are not true to the law of any conceivable reporter of this world's appearances. The distinction between the two laws is his own. He never forgot it, he remembered only too well his faith that "the two laws can with no sort of harmony or congruity make, for the finer sense, a common household." To what lengths this faith was capable of leading him is revealed when he defends certain changes he had made in the text of some of William James's early letters, quoted in Notes of a Son and Brother. "I may mention however," he tells his nephew, "that your exception that particularly caught my eye—to 'poor old Abraham' for 'poor old Abe'—was a case for change that I remember feeling wholly irresistible. Never, never, under our Father's roof did we talk of Abe, either tout court or as 'Abe Lincoln'—it wasn't conceivable: Abraham Lincoln he was for us, when he wasn't either Lincoln or Mr. Lincoln (the Western note and the popularization of 'Abe' were quite away from us then:) and the form of the name in your Dad's letter made me reflect how off, how far off in his queer other company than ours I must at the time have felt him to be. You will say that this was just a reason for leaving it so—and so in a sense it was. But I could hear him say Abraham and couldn't hear him say Abe, and the former came back to me as sincere, also graver and tenderer and more like ourselves, among whom I couldn't imagine any 'Abe' ejaculation under the shock of his death as possible. . . ."

Such a light as this upon his method one gets very often from his letters, and oftener as he grew older. It is in 1912 that he says to Mr. Walpole: "Form is substance to that degree that there is absolutely no substance without it." One gets, besides, many a five and ten-line masterpiece of criticism, always of his contemporaries, almost always of novelists. References to older writers are few, about as few as the references to contemporary history in the letters written before the war. The lovely little landscape touches are not many. His "later manner" first appears in its maturity about 1898, according to my notion,

and the ease with which he adapts it to the saying of the simplest things tempts one, perversely enough, to revise one's opinion that this "later manner" gained upon him because the things he wished to say in his later novels became more and more intricate. His release from the stricter bondage of playwriting, that experiment which brought him so much discomfort, but which gave us the story called Nona Vincent and the essay on the younger Dumas—didn't this release perhaps aggravate his tendency, when he turned again to novels, to abound in his own sense rather exorbitantly?

Our explanation of the interest of these letters is the unexpected frequency with which they keep raising questions of just this kind. Yet this is not their main interest, which lies most of all in our sense of contact with an extraordinary human being, sincere, highminded, generous, humorous, affectionate. Mr. Percy Lubbock's introduction and prefaces do much to make this sense of contact still more vivid. Nobody's letters have had a more discerning editor.

Incidentally, and if his only object were to give information, and to correct here and there a false impression, he paints such a portrait of the letter-writer as no one is likely to better. We feel that we have been often in the same room with Henry James, have witnessed "his pondering hesitation as he talked, his search over the whole field of expression for the word that should do justice to the picture forming in his mind." In his letters, whether written or dictated, this hesitation gave place "to a flow unchecked, one sonorous phrase uncoiling itself after another without effort." Mr. Lubbock assures us that except for this difference the letters, especially some of the later ones, "exactly reflect the color and contour of his talk—his grandiose courtesy, his luxuriant phraseology, his relish for some extravagantly colloquial turn embedded in a Ciceronian period." Mr. Lubbock reminds us also that Henry James "knew very well that in all he most cared for, in what was to him the heart and essence of life, he remained solitary to the end." And here, I think, we come upon the most general impression that the letters leave—of a great loneliness in the midst of so much affection received and given.

P. L.

## Auction: Anderson Galleries

"Lot 65: John Keats to Fanny Brawne.

A beauty, gentlemen, and in the best

Condition. Four leaves, scarcely pressed.

What am I bid? Five hundred . . . Five . . . Come on.

Who'll make it Six? Six hundred. . . ." (*Pale and drawn, I dreamed forever in a sweet unrest*

*Of your warm, lucent, million-pleasured breast*)

"Six hundred . . . Now Six fifty . . . Are you done?"

"Seven . . . A half . . . Did I hear eight? . . . Eight . . . Eight . . .

Who'll make it Nine?" (*Would that I could survive The horrors of a brutal world. I hate*

*All men and women, saving one, alive.*)

"Nine fifty . . . Going . . . Sorry, sir; too late.

Sold to this party for Nine sixty five."

LOUIS UNTERMEYER.



## What the Workers Want

*What the Workers Want, by Arthur Gleason. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Howe.*

THIS book is the ablest piece of reporting I have seen in several years. It is vivid, singularly intimate in its knowledge, and with a frank recognition of the problems involved that gives it an objectivity rare in books of the kind. Mr. Gleason has had a preparation unparalleled among American students for this work. For the past five years he has lived in England; and four of them were spent in careful study of British trade-unionism. An Englishman may well envy the ease with which Mr. Gleason moves among men and ideas, judging here, casting a shrewd question there, inevitably sane and balanced. Every student of his problem has reason to be grateful for his analysis.

What, broadly speaking, Mr. Gleason has to record is the breakdown of capitalist economics. Shop-stewards, the Coal Commission, the rapid growth of guild socialism, all of them point in a single and inevitable direction. What they mean is that the old motives to production are no longer available. The possession of property without the performance of function has lost its magic influence. The workers have ceased to believe in what, at bottom, is the commodity-theory of labor. They have acquired a new sense of the inherent dignity of human personality; and they are insistent that new institutions are needed for its adequate recognition. That, as Mr. Gleason makes clear, is the motive underlying the movement for nationalization. The coal miner is interested in production not as a process of wage-making pure and simple but as a profession in which his personality secures a full response. He no longer believes that this is possible under private ownership. The evidence tendered to Mr. Justice Sankey was final in that regard. Public ownership and public management afford him, as he believes, a channel in which his special experience can be turned to genuine account. He wants the sense of self-government without which no man can attain to the full height of human stature. Nor is that true of the miners alone. Railwaymen, engineers, dockers, all of them in more or less degree respond to similar motives. They do not, Mr. Gleason insists, want nationalization in the old sense of state-management. Government by a public official is no more attractive to them than government by a private owner. And Mr. Gleason rightly urges that the problem of production hinges most largely upon an adequate response to this demand.

Fundamentally, that is to say, Mr. Gleason makes out a case for the primary creed of British labor. He yet recognizes that the problems they face are by no means easy. The frontier of control has still to be determined. The movement has to percolate down from a minority of brilliant leaders like Mr. Smithe and Mr. Hodges until it sways the thinking of the more slowly-moving masses. There must be a far greater eagerness for education. There must be a genuine revivification of the Parliamentary Labor party. The thinking of the movement must be done far more in the solid administrative terms of which men like Mr. Webb and Lord Haldane know the difficulty, and far less in the brilliant but sciolistic generalizing of the guild socialists. The latter is at once easier and more attractive; but I think Mr. Gleason would agree with me in the estimate that of those responsible for the propaganda of guild socialism only Mr. Cole has really thought through the essentials of the problem. The others are full of an eager simplicity about the phenomena they

confront that is at every point misleading. While, it is true, for example, to insist that the breastworks of capitalism in England have been stormed the citadel remains intact. The trade unions have to make up their minds about direct action. They have to develop a journalism of their own competing upon terms of equal capacity with the press of men like Lord Northcliffe. They have to develop a social context to their economic theory which makes impossible the educational backwardness of the cotton-operatives, on the one hand, and the moral blindness of men like Mr. Havelock Ellis upon the other. They have to turn the Parliament Committee into a general staff for labor, thinking out its tactics and its strategy with the same infinite care for detail as characterizes the work of the imperial General Staff. The relation of the shop-steward movement must be worked out. The tragic wastage of jurisdictional disputes must be eliminated. The proper cooperation between workers by hand and workers by brain must be considered; a movement which does not know how to make consistent use of men like Mr. Webb and Mr. Tawney condemns itself beforehand to failure. Nor is it less important, as Mr. Gleason makes clear, for a general *modus operandi* to be worked out with the Cooperative Movement. The great problem of most schemes of social organization which lay their emphasis upon the producer is that they tend to assume that the consumers' interest will be *ipso facto* safeguarded. But the truth surely is that in the play of actual forces the only safeguards which are acceptable are those of a definitely institutional kind. Mr. Gleason's enthusiasm for British labor does not for a moment mislead him as to the significance of these problems. He faces them with frankness; and they have an obvious influence upon the chronological estimates he is inclined to make.

Not the least fascinating portion of his book is his admirable portrayal of the leaders with whom he came into contact. Here, it may be suggested, is the greatest difference between American and British labor. The vision and tenacity of Robert Smithe, the finesse of J. H. Thomas, the idealism of George Lansbury, the shrewd sagacity of J. R. Clynes—a combination of such qualities makes the statesmanship of labor more than comparable with the statesmanship of capital. American labor has, of course, its outstanding figures; of men like John Walker among the miners and Sidney Hillman among the garment workers any movement has the right to be proud. But taken in the mass, the distinct impression left by Mr. Gleason's book is that the leadership of American labor has neither the imagination nor the broad experience of its British analogue. Not, indeed, as Mr. Gleason freely admits, that British labor is herein without its difficulties. Men like Mr. Havelock Wilson and Mr. J. B. Williams are as backward as even Mr. Gompers could desire in realizing the advent of a new world. They belong essentially to the type of glorified walking-delegate by whom the ranks of the American Federation of Labor is so largely infested. They greet the idealism of a new epoch with the same helpless wonder as the heads of the Railroad Brotherhoods greeted their own essential movement towards industrial unionism.

Yet, with all the immense difficulties ahead, the basic impression Mr. Gleason leaves is one of profound hope. He does not claim for British labor either a logic unity of purpose or a definite agreement upon method. What rather he depicts is a vast welter of enthusiastic movement, with here and there a widening eddy of distinct tendency



perceptible in the vaster scheme. He can draw the broad conclusions for which we have been waiting. He knows that the movement has passed from demands for shorter hours and increased wages to the wider problems of control. He knows that any synthesis, like that of the Whitley Councils, which is based upon the mere amelioration of the present system is already condemned. He knows that the stage is set for an ultimate political control of the state by the labor party. So long as these factors are definitely discernible the future of British labor is very largely the future of representative government, at least for Western civilization. That is why a book which so skillfully analyzes the forces at work is a public document of the first importance.

H. J. L.

## Baudelaire Translated

*The Flowers of Evil, translated from the French of Charles Pierre Baudelaire. New York: Brentano's.*

TO the American public Baudelaire is little more than a name, in spite of the several attempts which have been made to introduce this poet to the English speaking peoples. A new edition of *The Flowers of Evil* has just come out of the Brentano press, with a lengthy introductory preface by Mr. James Huneker. It is doubtful however whether Baudelaire's popularity will be increased thereby: this translation does not evidence any of the qualities which were lacking in the others and presents all the faults which were to be found in its predecessors.

It seems that all the translators of Baudelaire start from the same false point of view: they try to adapt this very Latin writer to the Anglo-Saxon mind; they dress him up—or rather they try to conceal what they take to be his deformities under conventional draperies. Each sentence seems to be an apology for the French text, which is so smoothed, so toned down, so trimmed and polished, that it is difficult to recognize the real Baudelaire in his new garb.

Anyone who attempts to translate Baudelaire ought to have constantly in mind this statement of Barbey d'Aurevilly, who besides being a good critic was at the same time a personal friend of Baudelaire: "Each poem (in *Les Fleurs du Mal*) has a value d'ensemble et de situation which it loses when considered separately. The poems lose also—especially in their moral effect—when they are not read in the order in which the poet has placed them."

The anonymous author of the translation we are considering took the liberty to select fifty out of the hundred and fifty poems contained in *Les Fleurs du Mal*, and to place them in an order which no principle seems to have guided except arbitrariness. The grouping of the poems is not preserved, and the sub-titles of these groups are suppressed as well as the dedications.

As to the text itself, some examples will show through what *bain de vertu* Baudelaire was passed before he was considered presentable to the candid eyes of his American readers.

One of Baudelaire's most famous poems is entitled: *Une Charogne*—an ugly word, I confess, and an ugly suggestion. Yet, such was the choice of the poet. It was meant as a challenge, taken as a challenge, and it made quite a sensation when it appeared. Later, it was this poem and a few others like it which became, so to speak, the banner of the Baudelairean School. With all this

history attached to the poem, it is evident that a translator had no choice but to carry out Baudelaire's intention and to use the corresponding English word "carion" which Shakespeare never hesitated to use as often as he needed it. However the translator thought better of it and promoted the "charogne" to a "corpse," thereby losing the whole point.

A number of expressions are to be found *ennobled* in this way. All we are allowed for the French "volupté" is "pleasure" or "delight." A "libertin" is kindly called a "sot," and an odor characterized as "fétide" by the author is made "stale" by the translator. The most pitiful of these euphemisms is that of the word "courtisane" which—of all banalities—is rendered as "woman frail." Poor Baudelaire!

It is clear that in the mind of Baudelaire's translator, the American public is so sensitive that they cannot stand the sight of such improper terms as "libertine" and "courtisane." I think that he is wrong, but I can understand his scruples in a certain measure. Where I cannot follow him at all, however, is when he applies his policy to terms which are by no means improper, but which, according to his conception, are what he would probably call unpoetical. This conception is not a new one. In fact it flourished several centuries ago.

One may imagine with what anger and disgust Baudelaire would read the so-called translation of his works, were he living in 1919. In fact, to anyone who knows the real Baudelaire at all, nothing can be more incongruous than to see him disguised in the antique veils and the foppery of a bygone age. One could as well imagine Racine's *Bérénice* on the moving picture screen, or Mark Twain transposed in classical style. In this translation, Baudelaire is spared none of the rhetoric, of the conventional phrases, of the commonplaces of old-fashioned poetry: "eves of gold, azure skies, sweet souls and bodies fair, faint bosoms and languid brows" abound at every page. The noble "couch" takes invariably the place of the plebeian "bed"; the hardworking "ox" is simply put aside and the aristocratic "deer" cavorts in its place. The Mendiante Rousse has her red hair turned to brown, and we are sorry for her.

A stanza taken from this last poem will give a good idea of the general difference of style between the original and the translation:

Baudelaire says to his red-haired beggar-girl:

Que pour te déshabiller  
Tes bras se fassent prier  
Et chassent à coups mutins  
Les doigts lutins.

Our translator says to his brown beggar-maid:

Let your white arms uncovered shine  
Polished and smooth and half divine  
And let your elfish fingers chase  
With riotous grace.

The comparison hardly needs a commentary. It will be noticed that the second line is entirely the invention of the translator—a line which we could well do without. It will be noticed also that the meaning of the last two lines is quite misunderstood. The change may be due to a lack of imagination or to a fear of impropriety, but the fact remains that Baudelaire never meant to speak of the girl's fingers but of his own.

Some of Baudelaire's most beautiful lines are rendered so meagrely that they make no impression at all.



In a refinement of mystic cruelty, the poet dreams of transforming the woman he loves into the Madone des Sept Douleurs, and to plunge seven sharp knives in her heart:

Je les planterai tous dans ton Coeur pantelant,  
Dans ton Coeur sanglotant, dans ton Coeur ruisselant.

All that appears in the translation is:

"I'll plunge them all within thy panting heart."  
This magnificent line:

"Mes yeux, mes larges yeux aux clarté éternelles . . ."

is thus massacred by the translator:

"The mirror of my luminous eyes."

There might be a good excuse for these deficiencies: the translation is written in verse, as the passages quoted show. The question of the advisability of ever putting in verse the poetry of another language is too important to be discussed and decided here. However many critics take the position today that Gilbert Murray's translation of *Medea* or Leconte de Lisle's translation of *De Natura Rerum* are more the work of these writers than of Euripides or Lucretius; and the reader who would want to know the real Euripides would do much better if he took the translation of a good hellenist whose only aim is to render with exactitude the Greek text and to preserve the beauty of the poetry in beautiful prose. When Baudelaire translated *The Raven*, he did not try to transpose the English rhythm in some French rhythm which could in no way be the same. His prose is so close to Poe's lines however, that no translation in French verse could give a better idea of the original. Stéphane Mallarmé did not attempt a verse translation either when he put this same poem in French.

But granted that a certain difference may be attributed to the difficulties of rhythm and rhyme in the volume which we are considering, there is no excuse possible for another kind of mistake which is by no means of rare occurrence in the book.

These mistakes are a proof that much is due to the ignorance of the translator. In the poem entitled: *L'Irréparable*, Baudelaire speaks of remorse which, he says, feeds on us like the caterpillar on the oak:

"Comme du chêne la chenille."

The apparent similarity of the words *chêne* and *chenille* misled the unfortunate translator and made him believe that there was a connection between them. Not taking the trouble to look in a dictionary and relieve his ignorance, he produced this pearl:

"As the acorn in the oak."

Time has come when the American public can no longer be made such a fool of. Things of this sort cannot be allowed to pass.

Here is another example of this astounding ignorance:

In the *Danse Macabre*, which recalls so vividly the frescoes of Orcagna in the Pisan Campo Santo, Baudelaire describes the dancing girl—the dressed up skeleton—with her silks and laces, her "souliers pomponnés," and the frill around her neck:

"La ruche qui se joue au bord des clavicules."

The whole picture is a gloomy contrast between the elegance and daintiness of the costume and the weird horror of the skeleton which it covers. It is evident that the trans-

lator ignored this sense of the word "*ruche*" (frill) and he makes the line read:

"The swarms that hum about her collar-bones"

—the word "*ruche*" meaning also "hive." The result is nonsense and shows that the translator did not catch the idea of the description. Such blunders might be forgiven to a high school student of French, not to the man who has the boldness to undertake such a piece of work with such a scant knowledge of French. It is an unprecedented example of bluff.

A few Poems in Prose complete the book—but in spite of their being in prose, the same tendency to tone down the text, the same general negligence are found in this second part.

A word must be added concerning Mr. Huneker's preface. We do not do Mr. Huneker the injury to suppose that he had anything to do with this paltry translation, or any intention to cover it with his name. The fact that he has allowed his name to be used in connection with it, proves on the contrary that he has not even read the book or at least compared it with the original. However, he has missed the opportunity which offered itself to give to the American public the study of Baudelaire which is so much needed, although his anecdotes are very entertainingly told.

A good psychological analysis of Baudelaire's strange mind will doubtless be written some day. But it must be the work of a man whose mind is open, receptive, sympathetic, and devoid of prejudice, and who has a thorough knowledge of the man's life and work. If such a study accompanies a faithful translation of *Les Fleurs du Mal*, it may happen that Baudelaire will finally be acclimated to this country. But it is not quite sure. M. CARRET.

## A Woman's Efficiency

*A Year as a Government Agent*, by Vira B. Whitehouse. New York: Harper & Brothers.

INTO the mess of rival propaganda that was Switzerland in December, 1917, the Committee on Public Information sent Mrs. Norman Whitehouse to add news from the United States. She has now published an account of her adventure that is notable for several grave virtues. Its vices are gay little demons that are only amusing. But its virtues are serious. For one thing it is good testimony to the power of directness in dealing. Now and then, sitting comfortably uninvolved, one instinctively softens an outline, when she describes the circuitous ways expected of her. But the fear that this instinct comes out of our ordinary inertia, flutters about as a troublesome gnat. Her manner, as a rule, keeps one from meddling. Besides which, she publishes an invincible appendix of letters and cablegrams from Washington.

Having proved her power to do "hard, unpicturesque work at an office desk" in the recently won suffrage campaign in New York, Mrs. Whitehouse felt qualified to accept as her way of service the disseminating of accurate news of the United States as an Associated Power, of our army and navy as they were developing, and of our general social conditions. This information she was to receive from Washington, authentic, straight information. She was to have a diplomatic passport and special recommendation to our Embassy in Paris and our Legation in Berne. She sailed without the diplomatic passport, un-



suspicious of anything but an annoying delay. She reached Paris to find herself first unannounced, and then announced as having come over to study the conditions of women and children. This, the State Department cabled, would be useful deception, as the Swiss might be suspicious of openly official information and feel it a trap against their perfect neutrality. Mrs. Whitehouse had, however, already stipulated that she should not be expected to do anything surreptitiously. She has a convincing faith that openness is practicable and pleasant. In Berne she found Mr. Hugh Wilson, the Chargé d'Affaires, also officially uninformed, and willing only to entertain for her as the student of women and children. She could not get any clear statement even about the legation's receiving cabled or wireless news from America.

She put in three months trying to straighten out the tangle, and at the same time informing herself about Swiss conditions, and meeting Swiss newspapermen and statesmen. She found them all, even the German-Swiss, willing to publish news from America, so long as it complied with the neutrality law. She saw how to spread information about our efforts by bill-boards and by other ways, all already utilized by the Allied Powers, who naturally enough were not publishing American news with just the American accent. Equipped with facts, she then returned to the United States and had it out with Washington.

"It must have taken courage on Mr. Creel's part to reopen the question of my going back in face of the general opposition not only to me myself, but to the methods upon which I still inflexibly insisted. Of course I had maintained throughout that no underhand work was necessary; that it should all be done honestly and openly and with the knowledge of the Swiss government. The legation and other diplomatic and propaganda representatives, and the journalists who were familiar with the situation in Switzerland—Mr. Carl Ackermann, for instance—still declared such methods were at the very least impracticable. The opposition was being emphatically expressed. It was cabled to various government departments here from all sources in Switzerland which the legation reached."

On her return to Berne in June, she got together a small, insufficient office force and set to work, using so-called German spies, the only un-employed in Berne, for much of her translating. There was some attempt at falsifying the text, but by unremitting supervision, nothing serious happened. With the silly mass of spy talk, she dealt in the manner of common sense, and got good work done. Soon news from the United States appeared daily in all the Swiss papers, undeleted.

"The main reason for our success, apart from our military victories and the interest aroused by them, was, as the enemy himself pointed out, the fact that our service was the only means which the neutral countries and the Central Empires had of obtaining information about American war preparations (*war craze*, they called it) and, therefore, our news was eagerly accepted and printed everywhere. . . . Our office soon made a reputation for accuracy and fairness. Contrast for a minute the simplicity of our methods with those which were adopted by other countries and urged upon me in the beginning. . . . I should have masqueraded as being in Switzerland for some other purpose. And then have bribed and corrupted and published her news as though it came from Swiss correspondents, etc., etc."

Our conviction that her story is essentially true is not only because of her own definiteness and of the evidence

the older diplomatic tradition gives about itself in the appendix, but also because of our general experience throughout the reign of war psychology. One has a sense of sharing the relief felt by the busy Swiss in the opportunity to stick strictly to business, without suspicions.

Mrs. Whitehouse has the gift of taking the reader along with her in her adventure. Her various Swiss acquaintances, the diplomatic set in Berne, the German democrats who were refugees, her French chauffeur and her Swiss maid, who both died in the influenza epidemic, all these people become real, and the reader shares her impatience, as well as her sympathies and tendernesses. The country she travelled through, the way she lived, are casually and lightly and amusingly done. It is all easy and unselfconscious and companionable.

As a government agent, Mrs. Whitehouse was a free-lance. She was not tied up with any political party, and she was deaf—like most women as yet—to the old party slogans. At the same time she was an experienced politician. She was, perhaps, a perfect instrument for getting something done, having ardent convictions and no unsatisfied personal ambitions. She could not be turned aside. Her book can be taken as evidence of the value of disillusion if it is joined by a passion for work. Is not the end of disillusion some surprised recognition of how invincible is plain truth?

At times one hopes that Mrs. Whitehouse is a little hard on the American legation in Berne. She thinks that they wasted time and money on government entertaining, and were caught up by unimportant drawing-room intrigues, that have no validity afterwards in the government offices. She used to refuse to take two hours out of the heart of each day in order to meet people at breakfast and influence them. Instead she would lunch at her desk off a sandwich, and she believes her time-saving was resented. At any rate, one agrees that it was part of her strength that she was already practised and wary. Must one, over there, be a bit satiated with drawing-room success, before one concentrates on one's job?

EDITH BORIE.

*La Croisade de l'A. R. C. par A. de Rochebrune.*  
Paris: Eugène Figuière.

NOT the least interesting aspect of the civilian relief work carried on by the American Red Cross in France during the war, lay in the contact of minds and personalities, it involved. Thousands of Americans in their various uniforms swarmed over to France, settling down in towns and remote villages, where full of official sanction and individual determination, they set about to help and to reform; to enter intimately into the lives both public and private of the French. These must have been both grateful and annoyed, stimulated and repelled; always one would fancy, a bit bewildered, yet refreshed by the quixotic naïveté that led a great, remote nation to do such things. Not infrequently it seemed to them as though these Americans, tongue-tied men and masterful women alike, were inspired by some holy zeal that led them, like modern crusaders, to seek hardship and sacrifice in an ideal cause.

This romantic notion has led Mme. de Rochebrune, a Frenchwoman of facile pen, to write a book, *La Croisade de l'A. R. C.* Mme. de Rochebrune appears to have had unusual opportunities for observing at least one phase of the American endeavor, as she, herself, served for some time in the Children's Bureau of the American Red Cross.



While wisely confining herself to that part of the work with which she has had actual experience, she could hardly have chosen a more picturesque undertaking than this Public Health and Child Welfare Exposition that travelled like a great caravan through the principle cities of Southern and Central France, conveying a message of encouragement and international solidarity, while spreading the gospel of sanitary living and better babies.

Mme. de Rochebrune writes her book in the form of a diary, in which she details the experiences of this strange troupe of American reformers. From mayors, deputies and cardinals to shopkeepers, miners and labor-leaders, they came in contact with most classes of French society and seem often to have found their chief task in interpreting their far-away, Western country to these people of an ancient, self-contained civilization. From her double vantage point of Frenchwoman associated with the American organization, Mme. de Rochebrune relished the piquancy of these encounters and gives them an almost too sympathetic treatment. Being evidently herself a woman of spirit one is inclined to suspect her too uniformly polite and flattering estimates of her American colleagues. Her pen seems occasionally to be taken over by the French government official—that little, bearded fellow with the prominent gloves and inevitable decoration ribbon, whose duty it is to bow with great frequency and to protest gratitude indiscriminately to visiting, well-meaning foreigners. His kind of palaver is out of place in such a book and detracts considerably from what is on the whole an intelligent and entertaining account of American enterprise and originality at grips with Old World cynicism and inertia. D. B.

*As Others See Her*, by A. Burnett-Smith. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company.

THERE is no doubt that most of us thoroughly enjoy having some one—even a charlatan—concentrate his attention for a space on our very selves. This vanity envelops us when we read books on our country and our customs. We approach them with something of the same shame-faced eagerness and simulated indifference with which we present our hand to the palmist or listen to the fortune teller's character analysis and prophecy.

*As Others See Her* is another one of those collections of random impressions of visiting foreigners that would pander to our egotism. But Mrs. A. Burnett-Smith has not thoroughly mastered that first rule of her business—never to cease talking to the subject about himself. She, too, frequently digresses to discuss her own history and beliefs. She would seem to be a nice elderly Scot, well-bred, devout and luke-warm on suffrage. But her observations of American life are neither profound nor original enough to focus serious attention, while any merely fatuous perusal of the book is interfered with by the little Scotch-woman's propensity to block with her own person and pious convictions her view of the American Woman in Wartime.

### Contributors

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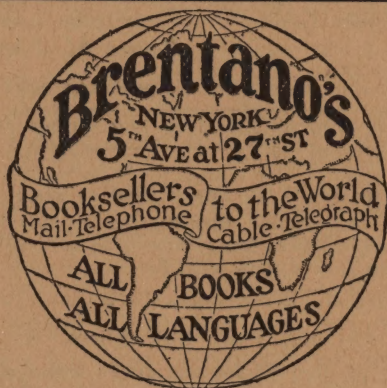
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